THE

THISTLE;

A

Dispassionate EXAMINE of the Prejudice of *Englishmen* in general to the *Scotch* Nation; and particularly of a late arrogant Insult offered to all *Scotchmen*, by a Modern *English* JOURNALIST.

In a LETTER to the Author of OLD ENGLAND, *Dec.* 27, 1747.

Nemo me impunè lacessit.

THE

ROSE:

BEING A

DETECTION

Of the pernicious Tendency of

Two *LIBELS*

Lately published, *viz.*

In the OLD ENGLAND JOURNAL,

AND

A Pamphlet entitled, *The* THISTLE.

TOGETHER WITH

Some Considerations for repealing the Heretable Jurisdictions reserved to the *Scots*, by the 20th Article of the Treaty of Union.

Inter spinas Odores.

'Tis the same Rope, at different Ends they twist.

POPE.

The Third EDITION.

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THE

THISTLE, &c.

SIR,

THO' your coarſe Stile, and coarſer Breeding, might induce one to believe you equally a Stranger to Literature and the Court, yet there appears ſuch an uncommon Depth of Rancour and Deſign throughout your whole Performance as muſt convince the Intelligent, that, if you are unpolite, obſcene and inaccurate, it is in order to cover and diſguiſe yourſelf. A mean obſcure Writer may be overlooked and pardoned, what would not be forgiven one of Figure and Eminency. More Decency is expected from a *Peer* than a Scavenger, leſs Obſcenity from a *Judge* than the Bully of a Brothel, and leſs Inhumanity from a *Biſhop* than from a Keeper of *Bridewell*, or a modern L—n—t of the T——w-—r.

To each of theſe, the Public aſſign this diſtorted Offſpring that ſeemingly appears of your getting. Some there are, and thoſe not a few, who imagine they can trace out in this Contexture, the adroit, over-bearing *Peer*, a late Miniſter, and ſtill a Favourite in *Petto*, who, being from Nature a Contemner of *Scotchmen*, might hope, by fomenting the natural Enmity betwixt both Nations, to create ſuch domeſtic Confuſions as might render him neceſſary, and oblige Men in preſent Power to yield to the

Propenſity of their common M———r. Some again, think they can perceive the mean, ſhuffling, unintelligible Bar-Oratory of a certain laſcivious, lecherous Sage of the Law, who would wound the young *Barriſter*, not only in his own Perſon, but thro' the Sides of all his Countrymen, that was thought to have ſtood faireſt for the firſt Seat of the Profeſſion on a late intended Reſignation. Others, perhaps, with leſs Probability, figure to themſelves the perceiving in every Line of this motley Production, the narrow, confined Genius of a certain prelatic *Pedant*, who, dreading the approaching Repeal of ſuch Laws as wound tender Conſciences, might hope that the fomenting Jealouſies between the different religious Profeſſors of our Iſland, would be a likely way of protracting, at leaſt, the charitable Work, if not of rendering the intended, laudable Scheme wholly abortive.

But for my part, however inclined I may be to think that the *Peer* hinted at, would not ſtop ſhort at the Threſhold of Virtue, to arrive at the Summit of Power, any more than the whiffling *Sage* of the Law, who would foul his own *Neſt*, rather than not gratify a predominant Paſſion, or the ſpiritual *Pedant*, who would riſque damning his own Soul, rather than reſign the coercive Power heretofore procured to his Church by the Over-zealous and Uncharitable; I ſay, in my Opinion, the Work is rather a clubb'd Performance, than the Production of a ſingle Brain. Not that it has either Taſte or Elegance, Erudition or Truth, to do Honour to either one or many; but it ſavours too ſtrongly of the C——t, there appears too much of Miniſterial Art under its Ruſticity, for a cloſe Obſerver not to perceive it to have been the Work of more Heads than one.

Something, we may ſuppoſe, is to be done this S——n of P———t; ſome ſignal Infraction may be intended, which may make it neceſſary to render certain Objects as diſagreeable and contemptible as poſſible. Has a Man an Eye upon the Rights or Poſſeſſions of his Neighbour, or a View to violating ſome important Contract ſubſiſting between them, his earlieſt Care will be to depreciate his Character, and render him both odious and dangerous in the Eyes of thoſe, who are to be Judges of the depending Controverſies.

I don't

I don't think there can be any Deſigns, at preſent, upon the Liberties of *Scotchmen*, becauſe the Majority of them have lately given ſuch eminent Proofs of their publick Virtue, as put their Zeal for our Conſtitution and Loyalty to the preſent Royal Family beyond all Doubt and Cavil. And yet we cannot, without offering Violence to common Senſe, ſuppoſe that ſuch a poiſoned Arrow, as yours, was ſhot at random, and without Deſign. There is neither Wit, Humour, or Elegance in your Compoſition to recommend it to the Publick; nor could it poſſibly have entered into the Brain of any public Writer, who intended either to divert or inſtruct his Readers, to have entertained them with a dull, inaccurate, fulſome, ſcurrilous Invective againſt a whole People indiſcriminately, if he had not been *inſtructed*, to pickeer, as the Forlorn-hope, with a People doomed to be ſuddenly attacked by a much more formidable Force.

Upon this Head, Sir, give me leave to expoſtulate with you, or rather with your *Inſtructors*, for you, as a Writer, have no Claim to either Indulgence or Decency. A Warrior who gives no Quarter deſerves none; and a Writer who hacks and ſaws the Object of his Rancour, has no Title to be uſed with Ceremony, or Delicacy. When therefore, I addreſs myſelf to you, in the ſingular Number, be it always underſtood that your Betters and Inſtructors are intended. Let them take up the Cap who will; if it fit the *Peer*, the *Judge*, or the *Prelate*, already ſpoken of, either ſingly or jointly, they are welcome to wear it; or if it ſuit thoſe of greater Power and Influence, e'en let them take it; or again, if the whole *Engliſh* Nation be inclined, as you ſuggeſt, to adopt your Syſtem in regard to *Scotchmen*, I ſee no Reaſon why each Individual of the South of our Iſland, may not be indulged with decking his Temples as pleaſes himſelf beſt: With the whole *Engliſh* Nation then, let me be underſtood to expoſtulate.

" I perceive, you ſay, by the daily Papers we are to
" have a certain Number of additional Judges, and that
" theſe are to make a Peregrination once a Year into *Scot-*
" *land*, to adminiſter Juſtice thro' that Nation, but in
" what Manner, and by what Law, is not yet expreſſed
" or ſuggeſted; yet, as they were to have the Honour to

" ſit

" ſit in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, I preſume it is to be after the " Common Laws of *England*."

As I have all along looked upon you as a Vehicle thro' which the Great would paſs their Deſigns to the Public for a previous Approbation, I make no doubt, after what you bolt out here, that it has been reſolved to alter not only the preſent Modes of adminiſtring Juſtice in *Scotland*, but her very Laws.

We agree that a P———t carries with it all the Marks of Omnipotence on Earth; and yet there are ſome Things, which tho' it have the Power to do, it ought not to do. A Conſtitution may be ſaid to have its *Corner-Stones*, as well as an Edifice, which if taken away, weakens the whole Fabrick, and endangers it, therefore, ought the Guardians of a State never to attempt removing, or tampering with ſuch popular Props, unleſs the public Neceſſity abſolutely requires it.

I wiſh we may not already have made too free with ſome *Eſſentials* of our Conſtitution, and that this may not be the Cauſe of that continual Botching, which certainly may weaken and impair, but can never ſtrengthen and invigorate the Body Politic. Let us caſt back our Reflection to the laſt Century, and compare the then, and preſent State of our Conſtitution, to ſee what we have gained by the Omnipotence of our P———ts, from that Period to the preſent. Can we ſay that our Conſtitution, after all the Quackery of our State-Phyſicians, is wholeſomer, ſounder, and better faſhioned and adapted to the Maintenance of the public Safety and Happineſs, than it was ſometime in the laſt Age? I expect you, Sir, will anſwer in the Affirmative, as you are the Drudge of thoſe who have lately acquired Power and Influence, by enliſting with thoſe very T——k——rs of the State, whom they affected, not long ſince, to ſcorn and deteſt.

Engliſh———
Stateſmen are always ſick of one Diſeaſe;
And a Poſt or Penſion gives them preſent Eaſe.
That's the Specifick makes them all content
With any King, and any Government.
Good Patriots at Court Abuſes rail,
And all the Nation's Grievances bewail;

But

But when the Sovereign Balſam's *once apply'd,*
The Zealot never fails to change his Side.

You ſee, I am no leſs beholden to Poetry than yourſelf, and I flatter myſelf to have been no leſs happy and pertinent in my Application. You are ordered to vilify the *Scotch* Nation, that the intended Repeal of what they look upon as Eſſentials, may be hereafter ſeen here in *England*, with the greater Indifference; and who are they that gave you ſuch Orders? why, thoſe who a very little while ago, would foam and bellow, at the leaſt Innovation.——But the *Sovereign Balſam*, having been applied, Nature operated, and the clearſighted *Engliſh Patriots* became the Tongue-tied Beetles of the C——t.

But you will aſk very naturally, have not Corruption and Venality been as conſpicuous, of late in the North as the South of the Iſland? I readily own the Charge, and plead Guilty: The *Scotch* are become venal and corrupt, and if they had not been ſo, might be ſtill courted, as heretofore, by *Engliſhmen*, and not contemned and ſcorned as they are at preſent. They were tempted, and they yielded to the Temptation; but whom the moſt culpable, the ſeduced *Eve*, or the *Arch-Seducer?*

Yes, Sir, the *Scotch* were tempted and yielded, or you had no *Union*, and conſequently no Rebellion: And let me add, if they had not been apt Scholars, and learnt the *Engliſh* ſecret Arts of gently *touching*, and being *touched* in the Palm of the Hand, their late Rebellions would have worn another Sort of Aſpect, and perhaps the Name of Rebels would have been retorted back on others.

There have been two Rebellions ſince the *Union*, and both were happily quelled. But were they not quelled by *Scotchmen?* This perhaps you will deny, being of the Nation, in the World, the moſt arrogating and ungrateful: But all *Europe*, except thoſe moſt obliged, agree that his late Majeſty, in the Year 1715, was ſecured in the Throne by the Wiſdom and Valour of *Scotchmen*. He himſelf was pleaſed to own to many of the *Scotch* Nobility, under his royal Hand that he *approved, and was highly ſenſible of their uſeful Services*. Nor can I doubt that his preſent Majeſty has been equally gracious towards thoſe *Scotchmen* that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſuppreſſing the late Rebellion, or rather that have been the immediate Suppreſſors of it;

for

for whether we reflect on the *Active* or *Paſſive* Conduct of different *Scotchmen* in the late Confuſions, we ſhall find the preſent Tranquillity, to be owing to *Scotchmen*.

We had an Army in the Field, 'tis true; but it was found by Experience, that *Engliſh* Troops alone were no Match for *Highlanders*; and though the Example of the young royal Leader, might animate the Puſillanimous, yet ſtill muſt I inſiſt that the Harveſt of *Culloden*, was gathered by *Scotch* Valour on one Hand, and by *Scotch* C———n on the other. Here was the *Tempter* ſucceſsful, and his certain Succeſs, as ſoon as known in the royal Camp, animated the whole Army; but were not the *adhering* rebel Corps equally diſcouraged by the Succeſs of *ſecret Practices* among them?

Need I be more explicit in a Matter of ſo great Notoriety? Need I explain more minutely the *State windings* which led to Conqueſt, on that important Day? Let us draw a Veil here, and content ourſelves with having ſucceeded. But let us gratefully place the Succeſs to the proper Account, to that of *Scotchmen*, who little thought, in *over-reaching* and vanquiſhing the young Pretender, to be furniſhing freſh Means to their natural *Contemners* for curtailing the few Privileges preſerved to them by the *Union*.

Is it then, Sir, for their Zeal and Loyalty, and ſtrict Adherence to the Government, in Times of greateſt Perils; is it for their readily falling into the Meaſures of *England* at the Revolution; for their indulging the *Engliſh* with an incorporating *Union*, in 1707; for preſerving the Crown on the Royal Brow of King *George* I. in 1715; or for ſuppreſſing the late Rebellion, that the *Scotch* are to *have Juſtice diſpenſed among them by Judges from Weſtminſter-Hall, and according to the Common Law of* England? Say, for which of theſe Benefactions are the *Scotch* to be rewarded *à l'Anglois*.

But Engliſh *Gratitude is always ſuch,*
To hate the Hand, which does oblige too much.
Experience tells us, 'tis the Engliſh *Way,*
Their Benefactors *always to betray.*

Ay, but ſay you very ſhrewdly, " 'tis obſervable, that " a *Scot* is a natural hereditary *Jacobite*, and incurable by " Acts of *Lenity*, *Generoſity* and *friendly Dealing*; for tho' " they will temporize with us for their own Gain and

" Benefit

" Benefit, yet they are ſure to lay hold of the firſt Op-
" portunity to diſtreſs us, and even cut our Throats. The
" late Rebellion (I can't call it unnatural, for Rebellion is
" natural to them) is a recent, and will continue an ever-
" laſting Evidence of this."

It is not denied that there have been *Jacobites* among the *Scotch*; and was *Jacobitiſm* unknown to the *Engliſh?* But had it been *hereditary* to the *Scotch*, as you ſuggeſt, how came it they did not all join in 1715 and 1745, in Support of their Principle? The Suppreſſion of the two late Rebellions, is an irrefragable Proof that all the *Scotch* were not infected with *Jacobitiſm*, but take care that *Engliſh Gratitude*, *Lenity*, *Generoſity*, and *friendly Dealing*, which you ſo much plume yourſelf upon, don't contribute rather to ſpread, than contract the Infection.

You ſeem ſo very fond of theſe benign *Engliſh* Words, *Lenety*, *Generoſity*, and *friendly Dealing*, that one may preſume you think theſe Virtues had been literally exerciſed by your Countrymen towards the *Scotch* Nation, Time immemorial.

——— *You ſhall hear them tell*
All Things in which they think they do excell:
No Panegyrick need their Praiſe record;
An *Engliſhman* ne'er wants his own good Word.

I can't think but your Memory muſt be impaired, and had forgot what *Scots* can ſay of *Engliſh* LENITY, ſince the Affair of *G——o* in the laſt Century, and the Action at *C——n*, in the preſent.

You cannot, ſurely, be in earneſt when you thus expreſs yourſelf the Advocate of *Engliſh* LENITY. I rather think you intend to ſatyrize your Countrymen by this Part of your Epiſtle, as a Means to awake them, at this Time particularly, into Sentiments of *Mercy* and *Compaſſion*.——*Engliſh* LENITY! Heavens! Who are the People that have taſted of it? Let *Scots*, particularly thoſe reſiding *North* of the *Sp—y*, ſtand forth and maintain the Claim of *Engliſhmen* to *Lenity* and *Compaſſion*. Let the *Iriſh* Nation be heard in Favour of the *Lenity* of their *Engliſh* Taſk-Maſters. Let us examine what thoſe wretched *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water*, can ſay of *Engliſh* LENITY.

The *Iriſh* Nation, tho' at preſent ſprang moſtly from the *Engliſh* themſelves, of the ſame Religion, obeying the

ſame Prince, the ſame Laws, yet are they ſecluded from all the Advantages of Subjects, from all that bounteous Heaven has laid in their Way. They are reſtrained from every lucrative Branch of Trade, and allow'd none that ſeems to interfere with that of *England*. The Exportation of coined Bullion for *Ireland* is ſtrictly prohibited in *England*, yet are not the *Iriſh* allowed to coin ſo much as *Copper* in their own Country. I wonder how thoſe, whoſe *Lenity* you thus proclaim, can ſuppoſe *Ireland* able to pay the heavy Penſions aſſigned upon her Eſtabliſhment, to *Engliſhmen* without Coin, ſince none ſhe can have from *England*, and the War has ſhut her out from trading to *France* and *Spain*. And yet the *Engliſh* boaſt being the Champions of Freedom all over *Europe*. So do the *Venetians*, who keep their Subjects of the *Terra firma* in the moſt abject Slavery.

But wherein conſiſts the Policy of keeping the *Iriſh* Slaves and Beggars? If they were *free*, there would be no Motive for their revolting from the *Engliſh* Government; but in their preſent State of *Thraldom*, who could blame them for making Trial of the *Lenity* of other Maſters? What do the *Engliſh* gain by keeping the *Iriſh* Beggars? All the preſent little Wealth of *Ireland* centers in *England*; and was there more, it would find its Way to *London*. So fares it with the venal *Scots*; they ſpend here what they ſhould bluſh to have earned. Wherein then is the Wiſdom of ſhutting up a Sluice that would let in infinite Wealth upon *England*, if *Ireland* were allowed the common Benefits of Nature? — Here, Sir, is a Sketch in Miniature of *Engliſh Lenity*; we will next conſider that *Engliſh* GENEROSITY, which, you ſay, ought to be binding upon all *Scotchmen*. But firſt hear it deſcribed by an Author quoted already more than once.

> *His* Generoſity *comes next, and then*
> *Conclude, that he is a* true-born Engliſhman;
> *And they, 'tis known, are generous and free;*
> *Forgetting, and forgiving Injury:*
> *Which may be true; thus rightly underſtood,*
> *Forgiving ill Turns, and forgetting Good.*

Generoſity, rightly underſtood, conſiſts chiefly in conferring Obligations, for the Sake of doing Good, without any Views to Self-Intereſt. Now, Sir, taking *Generoſity* in this genuine Light, ſhew where *Engliſhmen* have or do exerciſe

the

the heroic Virtue. Nay, in a more contracted Senſe, what Inſtance can you bring of *Engliſh* Generoſity towards the *Scotch*, or any other Nation?

Sure I am, the *Iriſh* have not taſted of the *Generoſity* of your Countrymen, unleſs *Engliſh Generoſity* be conſtrued into Cruelty and Ingratitude: *Hanoverians* are no leſs Strangers to it: For tho' *England* owes to them the Honour and Happineſs of the preſent Royal Family, and that they are ſecluded from having any Footing in her *Canaan*, yet are they become Objects of *Engliſh* Jealouſy, Scorn and Contempt. But *Hanoverians* are Foreigners, and that is ſufficient to raiſe the Jealouſy of *Engliſhmen*; yet a more cogent Reaſon may be aſſigned for *Engliſh* Contempt of *Hanoverians*. Theſe laſt, like the *Dutch* in the laſt Century, have furniſhed *England* in her Exigency with a King; and for the bounteous Favour, *Engliſhmen* would deviate from Nature, did they not return it with Ingratitude.

Wiſe Men affirm it is the Engliſh *Way*,
Never to grumble till they come to pay;
And then they always think, their Temper's ſuch,
The Work too little; and the Pay too much.

But to the Purpoſe of *Engliſh* GENEROSITY in regard to the *Scotch*; at what Time was any exerciſed, by whom, and on what Occaſion were they permitted to taſte of its Sweets? Did the exuberant *Generoſity* of your Countrymen to the *Scotch*, appear in cutting off the Head of their *Queen*, who had vainly implored *Engliſh* Mercy, and weakly reckoned on *Engliſh* Hoſpitality? Did it appear in cutting off that martyr'd Princeſs's royal Grandſon's Head, in the ſubſequent Century, becauſe he was of *Scotch* Extraction?— Oh! that I could draw here a Curtain over the Weakneſs of the *Scotch* for giving up the royal Victim into ſo cruel and bloody Hands! On this Occaſion it was, that the *Engliſh* were able to practice with Succeſs, their uſual Arts of *Corruption* on the deluded, unguarded *Scots*. But my Comfort is, that the greateſt and beſt Men among them have had no Hand in that infamous Bargain. Witneſs what Duke *Hamilton* ſaid, when a Motion was made in Favour of the helliſh Contract, in Parliament.

Will Scotland *now quit her Poſſeſſion of fifteen hundred Years Date, which is, our Intereſt in our Sovereign, and do it to thoſe whoſe* Enmity *againſt him and* us *doth viſibly appear. Is this*

the Effects of all your Proteſtations of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty? Is this the keeping of your Covenant, whereby you have ſworn to defend the King's Majeſty, Perſon and Authority? Is this a ſuitable Return for the King's Goodneſs, both in conſenting to all your Deſires in 1641, *and in his late truſting his Perſon to you? What a* Stain *will it be on the whole Reformed Religion? And, in ſhort, what Danger may be apprehended both to the King's Perſon, and to* Scotland, *from the Party that now prevails in* England.

From the Time of that ignominious, fatal Bargain, for delivering their lawful, anointed Prince to his *Engliſh* Murderers, may *Scotchmen* date their Unhappineſs. It was then the firſt Time they openly yielded to the *Engliſh* Arts of *Corruption*, which have been practiſed upon them, more or leſs, ever ſince: Yet, you, Sir, perhaps, may deem that to be *Generoſity*, on the Part of your Countrymen, which I eſteem to have been palpable *Corruption*.

In deſcending from the Death of the Royal *Martyr* to theſe Days, I cannot find the leaſt Trace of that *Engliſh Generoſity* you proclaim ſo very loudly. In King *Charles* the Second's Reign, the *Engliſh* PLOTTERS endeavoured, *generouſly*, to involve the *Scotch* to aſſociate with them in their Scheme of Reſiſtance. In the Reign of King *William*, the *Engliſh*, moſt *generouſly* and *juſtly* beggared Thouſands of Families in *Scotland* in the Deſtruction of the *Scotch* Settlement at *Darien* on the Coaſt of New *Spain*; and in that of Queen *Ann*, they as *generouſly* b———'d the *Scotch* into an *Union*, which cut away at once, if not moſt of their Rights and Liberties, all the ancient Splendor and Glory of their Kingdom. In the late Reign, have your Annaliſts handed down any other Marks of *Engliſh Generoſity*, except in thoſe Inſtances where the bad Bargain of the U———n was rendered worſe by explaining away, or actually repealing ſome of the beſt Clauſes of that ſolemn Contract? We are not as yet come to the End of the preſent auſpicious Reign, but in that Part of it which is elapſed, I don't find the *Scotch* deeply in the Debt of their *Engliſh* Fellow-ſubjects on the Score of *Generoſity*, unleſs we reckon as an Act of *Generoſity*, the Attempt of Diſfranchiſing *Edinburgh*, becauſe her Burghers had no Concern in the Death of *Porteous*. Perhaps the *Lenity* ſhewn lately by the *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland*, may be conſtrued into *Generoſity*; and it may be

be likewiſe, that the Introduction of *Engliſh Laws* and *Judges* among the *Scotch*, tho' in direct Contradiction to the *Union*, may be wreſted into Acts of *Engliſh Generoſity* on the South of *Tweed*.——My good Lord *Belhaven*! how prophetically did he foretell the Conſequences of the *Union*, and the Fate of *Scotchmen*!

" I think I ſee our learned Judges laying aſide their " *Practiques and Deciſions*, *ſtudying the Common Law of Eng-* " *land*, gravelled with *Certioraries*, *Niſi Prius's*, Writs of " Error, Verdicts, Actions of Trover, *ejectione firmæ*, In- " junctions, Demurrers, *&c.* and frighted with Appeals " Avocations, becauſe of the new Regulations and Recti- " fications they may meet with."

The *Scotch*, Sir, will readily excuſe your Countrymen on the Score of *Generoſity*, if they will but do them *Juſtice*. But let it not be ſuch as has been kept with the *Iriſh* in the Obſervation of the Capitulation of *Limerick* in 1692; nor ſuch as had been kept in 1712 with the *Catalans*, who had been deluded into Rebellion, and afterwards left to ſhift for themſelves: Nor yet ſuch *Juſtice* as produced a Treaty of *Worms* in 1743, by which the Marquiſite of *Final*, a conſiderable Part of the *Genoeſe* Territories, which had been guarantied to them by the Crown of *England* 1717, had been given from them, without their Conſent, or ſo much as Privity.——But to purſue this Strain of *Engliſh Juſtice*, yet a little farther.

By the equitable 10th Article of the aforeſaid Treaty of *Worms*, the *Genoeſe* are driven by *Engliſh Juſtice*, to ſhelter themſelves, as Auxiliaries, under the Protection of *France* and *Spain*; yet for this very Act of Neceſſity, was their *Capital juſtly* Bombarded by an *Engliſh* Fleet, in 1745, and the *Auſtrians* permitted, if not induced, to beggar them, in 1746, by ſuch exceſſive *Contributions*, as were never before known, or heard of in *Europe*; and perhaps too, that once *Free* and brave People, may fall a Sacrifice to *German*, I would ſay, *Auſtrian Clemency* and *Engliſh Juſtice*, for glorioufly attempting to maintain their ancient, and rightful Freedom, and Independency.——From ſuch *Clemency* and ſuch *Juſtice*, let it be the Prayer of all *Scots*, to be delivered.

After I have ſaid a Word or two concerning your *Engliſh Fair-dealing*, I think I ſhall have conſidered the moſt ſignal Obligations, which you ſuggeſt to have been confered

on

on the *Scots* by your Countrymen. *Fair-dealing* neceſſarily implies, *the doing as one would be done by*, in this Senſe then, Sir, wherein are the *Scots* obliged to the *Engliſh*, for their *Fair-dealing?* or if your Countrymen had *dealt fairly* by them, on all occaſions, as they certainly have not, where would be the Obligation on *Scots*, if *Engliſhmen* had acted as became *honeſt Men?* But was the Affair of *Darien*, *Fair-dealing?* Were ſome late and former Innovations on the ſolemn, national Contract of the *Union*, *Fair-dealing*; or are the intended *Innovations* you threaten the *Scots* with, in your Journal, in regard to the *Laws*, and the Diſtribution of *Juſtice* among them, of thoſe things which you conſtrue into *Fair-dealing*.

Let me adviſe you, good Champion *Aretine*, to be more ſparing in your next Eſſay, of Encomiums on *Engliſh Lenity*, *Generoſity* and *Fair-dealing*. Our Moderns are too knowing to ſwallow ſuch Fibbs, and reliſh ſuch Stuff: perhaps you may find Credit with Foreigners, that have neither read or travelled; but to expect to meet any among the *Scots*, who have ſo thoroughly experienced the *Virtues* of *Engliſhmen*, was a Weakneſs which none but a ſelf-ſufficient *Engliſh* Writer, could be capable of.

After you had charitably and decently exhauſted your Rancour, and Ink, in abuſing the *brutal, ignorant and barbarous Highlanders, and the politer, but falſe and treacherous Lowlanders; after you had ſaid they both were the ever faithful Confederates and Allies of France; after you had informed your Readers that the Scots have a natural Attachment and Propenſion, for the royal Race of their ancient Rulers; after, in ſhort, you have told us, that the Scotch Hatred of Engliſhmen, is implacable and implanted in their Nature, deſcending from Father to Son, and is not confined to any particular Sect or Religion, but is diffuſive and general:* After, I ſay, you had thus vented your Spleen, we are to ſuppoſe you became cooler, and, by conſequence, a better Neighbour and Chriſtian, for we find you, ſoon after you had thus ſhot the bolt of your over-flowing Choler, in much Pain how to diſpoſe of thoſe on whom you had laviſhed ſo much of your precious Time and native Gall.

'The Fault being therefore in the Nature of the Peo-
'ple, it is not hardly poſſible to make a thorough Cure:
'what then is to be done? for it would be a monſtrous At-
'tempt

'tempt to endeavour to extirpate ſo numerous a People; 'to tranſport them into our *Weſt-India* Colonies will be 'rather a *Reward*, than a Puniſhment to them."———It might prove ſo, if they ſhould be better uſed, and more *fairly dealt* with in *America*, than they have been in *Europe*. But unleſs the *Engliſh* learn to treat their Colonies, with more *Lenity*, *Generoſity* and *Fair-dealing*, than they have ſhewn hitherto, I would not adviſe *Scots* to make any new Experiments of *Engliſh* Virtues.

But to put your Mind at quiet, about diſpoſing of a People, become the more hateful to *Engliſhmen*, for having confer'd many, and ſignal Obligations upon them, ſince the *Union* of both Kingdoms, I will point out to you a ſhort way to get rid of the *Scots*, and your Fears at once. The Expedient is ſo obvious, that I wonder it did not occur to you, and ſo eaſy that it requires but a *Yea* to pleaſe both People. If it ſhould come to be put in practice, you ſhan't need *to rebuild the famous Boundary Wall, ſo as to ſhut the Scots among their Rocks and Hills, nor to build up and fortify the Minds of Engliſhmen againſt them*; you ſha'nt need *to diſcourage them in their ſeveral Profeſſions, and ſo totally exclude them from ſharing in the Benefit of your Plenty*; *nor need you be in Pain that they will deprive your Countrymen of their Bread.* The Remedy is at Hand, and in your own Power; it is but with a *Vote*, undoing all that has been done by the Old Puts, your near-ſighted Anceſtors in 1707.

Be under no dread that the *Scots* will murmur at a repeal of the *Union*. It was a Doſe forced upon them by the *Corruption* of a few among themſelves; and I engage they will readily give it up again, if required. The *Engliſh*, you ſay, are ſick of the *Scots*; and to return the Compliment, I may venture to aſſure you, that the *Scots* are very ſick of the *Union*, and you may judge if they have any great Gouſt to the *Union-makers:* now it depends wholly on *Engliſhmen* to *diſſolve* the Band, which links the two Nations together; and ſince they don't draw together, are jealous of each other, and very probably hate one another as heartily as a married Pair who joined Hands out of Motives of ſordid Intereſt only, I don't ſee why they may not be divorced, or at leaſt ſeparated. An actual Divorce, may perhaps be deemed too large a ſtride at firſt; but ſurely no *Engliſhman*, who, like you, wiſhes to get rid of all *Scots* in

a lump, can be againſt *Separation*, which will put *England* to no Charge on the Score of *Allimony*.

Set down the *Scotch* whom you deſpiſe ſo exceſſively, but where you took them up, and I promiſe you, they will no more *Yearn after your Milk and Honey*. Let them have their Parliaments again; let them enjoy the Pageantry of of their ancient Royalty, reſtore them to their Independency; and I dare aſſure you, they will no longer *ſneak into your Bar nor Pulpits, nor be conven'd, like Hounds over your Carrion, nor like Flies over your Shambles.*

'They (the *Scots*) have poured in upon us, you ſay, 'like Swarms of Locuſts, into every Quarter, and every 'Scene of Life. The Army abounds with them, in une-'qual Proportions to our own Countrymen; Divinity is not 'without them, as I am credibly informed a certain Dio-'ceſe can ſtill atteſt, from the partial Choice of a late '*Scotch* Prelate; and even the Law, which uſed to be 'pretty clear of them, begins to abound with their diſſo-'nant Notes and ragged *Q—l—y*. Phyſic has them plen-'tifully likewiſe. And where there is any Thing to be 'got you may be ſure to find a Number of *Scotchmen* con-'ven'd, like Hounds over a Carrion, or Flies in a Sham-'bles."

Happy had it been if your Army had abounded more with *Scotchmen*. For whatever you may think, the Courage, Politeneſs, and good Conduct of the *Scotch* in your Army, have always reflected Honour on your Arms, and contributed not a little to the Safety and Glory of your Country. Wherever you have ſucceeded, it was generally owing to the Martial Virtues of thoſe whom you depreciate and contemn; and where you have not, it was when the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* were no Sharers in the Hazard. Courts-Martial on *Scotch* Delinquents are Things unheard of, either by Sea or Land. The principal Commanders at *Preſton-pans* were no *Scots*, any more than at *Falkirk*; and the Chiefs who bravely fell in thoſe Actions were *Scots*. Who fought like *Gardener* and *Monro* in the late bloody Conteſts for the Crown?

If the *Scotch* abound in the Army, as you ſay, 'tis becauſe they are naturally more martially inclined than *Engliſhmen*; 'tis becauſe the Court had ſome Regard to ſuperior Merit. But why ſhould not the Army, the Pulpit, and the

the Bar be as open to *Scots* as *Engliſhmen?* Was it not the Intent of the *Union* that they ſhould be but one People? Was not this the ſpecious Pretence of the Incorporation? And was not this *Incorporation* ſought and ſued for, and bought and bribed for by thoſe to whom, it ſeems——

The Obligation is their higheſt Grief,
And never love where they expect Relief.

Is it to make Room for the Swarm of *Foreigners*, that are to be let in upon us by a *General Naturalization*, that the *Scots* are to be ſhut out of all Employments? Are they to be tranſplanted to make Room for vagrant G———ns? Is the Sluice, at laſt, to be flung open, under ſpecious Pretences, which the Act of Settlement had cautiouſly and wiſely ſhut againſt *H———ns?*

But be it ſo; ſo you agree to a Diſſolution of the *Union*, you ſhall have the free Leave of all true *Scotchmen*, to bring in all the foreign *Beggars* in the Empire. Perhaps, you may hereafter want to get rid of your new Gueſts, as heretofore, and ſue for another *Incorporation* to *Scotland* in order to help you. But———

If e'er this Nation be diſtreſs'd again,
To whomſoe'er they cry, they'll cry in vain.

Engliſh Ingratitude is become proverbial among all the Nations of *Europe*. How were the *Dutch* and the great *Deliverer* uſed after *England* had been reſcued? How were the *Scotch* uſed in the Affair of *Darien*, for co-operating in the Revolution? How are the *Hanoverians* treated for bleſſing them with the preſent Royal Family? But——

'Tis not the Engliſh *Temper to do better;*
For Engliſhmen *think ev'ry Man their Debtor.*

And as to Heaven, I leave the impartial World to judge, whether the preſent open and avowed Profeſſion of *Deiſm* and Irreligion in *England*, and the known Deprivation of all our moſt ſocial Virtues among modern *Engliſhmen*, be any Proof of their being the *choſen People*. Let it not then be conſtrued Uncharitableneſs to ſay, that in any future Neceſſity——

To Heav'n they cannot have the Face to look;
Or if they ſhould, it would but Heav'n provoke.

You want not the Scotch *Parſon's Length of Prayers, nor his low, familiar Cant, and Expoſtulations with the Almighty.*

Their Doctor's Phyſick is not grateful to you: Nor, above all Things, would you take Law from their Lawyers.

In the preſent religious Diſpoſition of your Countrymen, I don't in the leaſt admire that you are an Enemy to ſet Prayers, either long or ſhort, and no Friend to Parſons, either *Scotch* or *Engliſh*. You would be unfaſhionable, you would act out of Character as the Champion of *Engliſhmen*, ſhould you affect any the leaſt Senſibility, or betray a weak Tenderneſs towards religious Worſhip in general, or Prayers, Parſons, or the Church in particular. As in Liberty, ſo in Religion; an *Engliſhman* ſcorns Reſtraint in either. He will ruſh into Anarchy rather than be free on any Terms but his own; and into H—— rather than be directed in the Way to Heaven.

In their Religion they are ſo unev'n,
That each Man goes his own bye Way to Heav'n.
Tenacious of Miſtakes to that Degree,
That ev'ry Man purſues it ſep'rately,
And fancies none can find the Way but he.

The *Scotch* have ſome Notion of Reveal'd Religion, which probably may be thought criminal on this Side the *Tweed*. Their Parſons may be ſometimes more tedious in Prayer than a keen-ſtomach'd Congregation would wiſh. But ſurely, long Prayers, are preferable to none at all? and familiar Expoſtulations with the *Saviour* are more excuſeable than never expoſtulating with him at all, and conſtantly denying his Godhead?—In ſhort, 'tis decent for one profeſſing *Chriſtianity*, to make ſome Shew of Religion, which the *Scotch* do very laudibly. But whether rotten or ſound at Bottom, is another Queſtion, which regards them only, and belongs to the Deity to ſolve. But among *Engliſhmen*, ſee their *Decency* as *Chriſtians*, by the Works and Diſcourſes impugning *Chriſtianity*, which are publickly vended and pronounced in this great Metropolis, and other Parts of *England*.

As you would paſs for one of ſome Importance, and ought to be ſuch when you attempt to attack a whole Nation, who have been famous for military Virtues before the Names of *England* or *Engliſhmen* were ſo much as known, methinks you ought to appear more a Man of Mode than ſcrew up your Phiz at the Sight of a Doſe of Phyſick: For a *Bolus* is ſtill a *Bolus* whether gilt or plain, and whether

preſcribed

preſcribed by a regular *Scot* or *Engliſh* Graduate, or a foreign Quack. Fye, Sir! Phyſick not *grateful* to a Man of your Faſhion and Conſequence; and ſuch you muſt be, ſince the Town, before me, had dubb'd you either a P———r, a J———e, or a B———p.

If *Law* was intended for the Maintenance of Peace and Juſtice in the Community, why are you ſo open an Enemy to the receiving it from the *Scots* of the Profeſſion? An honeſt Man would revere *Juſtice*, and bleſs him that had been the Means of procuring it, whether of *mean* or *eminent* Extraction. And ſurely the being deſcended from a long Race of Peers, Warriors and Legiſlators, ought to be no Objection at a Bar, which borrows moſt of its preſent Luſtre from thoſe few of any Birth that frequent it. Merit may flow ſometimes from a mean and even foul Spring. But, unleſs among *Engliſhmen*, I believe it was never known that a Deſcent from Mercers, Shoemakers, Butchers, Taylors, Bakers, and Bailiffs Followers, rendered an Orator more perſuaſive, elegant, or ſonorous.

There are ſome few *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and but few, at the *Engliſh* Bar; and there are ſtill fewer on the B——h. But without thoſe few, how unequal would both be, how degenerated from the Dignity of the Profeſſion! Yet tho' good Behaviour and Politeneſs be generally Fruits of a generous Birth, we don't find it always productive of ſuperior Oratorial Talents. The preſent *Engliſh* Bar is a pregnant Inſtance of this Remark. For had it not been for the few *Scotch* there, particularly *Two Gentlemen* of that Nation, who ſupport Oratory as far as the ſtated Jargon, and limited Pedantry of the Bar will permit, Standers-bye would be puzzled to know what was intended by the Pleadings there.

But theſe Gentlemen, no leſs conſpicuous for Knowledge and Virtue, than for Politeneſs of Manners and a noble Extraction, have gone great Lengths, the few Years they have honoured the Bar with their Attendance, not only to have reformed its Language, but to inſtruct their Fellow-Barriſters in the Methods, Forms, and Connexions of an Argument, of which the *Engliſh* generally are moſt ſhamefully deſtitute. Even the Furr'd *Nodders* on the B—h have benefited by liſtening to the orderly and nervous Diſcourſes of theſe young *Scottiſh* Pleaders. Yet are they be-

come the Envy of both B—h and Bar. Of the latter, becauſe they outſhine all that fill it, and of the former becauſe they are able, and do daily, inſtruct thoſe who ſit upon it.

Hence, and becauſe you dread a Reformation in the modern ſcandalous Practice of the Profeſſion, ſhould an upright, diſcerning *Scotch* Lawyer come to preſide on the Bench, is one of thoſe diſtinguiſhed *Scotch* Barriſters become the Object of your Scandal and Obloquy, of your Virulence and even Averſion. You purpoſely ſtep out of your Way to abuſe him, as if your whole *Journal* was levelled at him, and the principal View of your Scribbling was to injure and deſtroy, one who is no leſs an Ornament to the *Engliſh* Senate and Bar, than to to his Family and Country.

If Mr. *M——y*, or *Strix*, as you injudiciouſly call the moſt poignant and harmonious Orator of the Age, be ally'd by Marriage to an *Engliſh* Family of Diſtinction, he has brought into it the higheſt perſonal Merit, and the noble Blood of all the ancient Nobility of *Scotland:* A Nobility known all over *Europe*, and diſtinguiſhed for Hoſpitality, Valour and Patriotiſm, long before the Name of *Engliſhman* was heard of.

And Scotland *too her elder Glory ſhows,*
Her Gordons, Campbels, MURRAYS, *and* Monroes;
Hamiltons, Douglas, Grahams, *Names well known,*
Long before ancient England *knew her own.*

No Nation in *Europe* can boaſt of a more ancient Nobility than the *Scotch*; nor any that has ſo little Reaſon to plume themſelves of ancient Blood and Honours as the *Engliſh*. 'Tis common, among the Families of *Scotland*, and thoſe not of the firſt Claſs neither, to be dignified with great and diſtinguiſhed, hereditary, national Offices that had been conferr'd before the *Norman* Conqueſt. The hereditary Dignity of *Marſhal* of *Scotland* has been in *Keith*, the preſent Earl *Marſhal*'s Family ſince the Year 1010. But obſerve, in the following Lines, the Claim of *Engliſhmen* to that *ragged Quality*, which you as vehemently deſpiſe in the *Scotch*, as a Proſtitute would *Chaſtity* in a virtuous Matron.

He made her firſt-born Race to be ſo rude,
And ſuffer'd her to be ſo oft ſubdu'd;
By ſeveral Crowds of wand'ring Thieves o'er-run,
Often unpeopl'd, and as oft undone.

While

While ev'ry Nation that her Pow'rs reduc'd,
Their Languages and Manners introduc'd;
From whoſe mix'd Relicks our compounded Breed,
By ſpurious Generation does ſucceed
Making a Race uncertain and uneven,
Deriv'd from all the Nations under Heav'n.
The Romans *firſt with* Julius Cæſar *came,*
Including all the Nations of that Name.
Gauls, Greeks *and* Lombards; *and by Computation,*
Auxiliaries or Slaves of ev'ry Nation.
With Hengiſt Saxons, Danes *with* Sueno *came,*
In Search of Plunder, not in Search of Fame.
Scots, Picts, *and* Iriſh *from th'* Hibernian *Shore:*
And conqu'ring William *brought the* Normans *o'er,*
All theſe their barb'rous Offspring left behind,
The Dregs *of Armies, they of all Mankind.*
From this amphibious, ill-born Mob began
That vain, ill-natur'd Thing an Engliſhman.

Therefore, Sir, tho' Mr. *M———y* has married into a Family as diſtinguiſhed and ancient, as moſt *Engliſh* Families are or can be, yet perſuade not yourſelf that he has acquired any new Honours by the Alliance. In ſo venal, undiſcerning an Age as the preſent, perhaps his high Merit in his Profeſſion had been unheeded without Intereſt at Court. But, neither his Alliance nor Merit, as an Advocate, nor his other uncommon Excellencies and Virtues, were ſufficient to ballance the Malice and Envy of thoſe of his own Profeſſion, and particularly of a lecherous, little Elf in *Fur*, or he had been already raiſed to a Summit whence he could injoin by Precept thoſe virtuous Maxims which he can now inculcate by Example only.

But, you ſay, an Accident ſuſpended the Occaſion (of Strix's *being raiſed to the Summit of the Bench) and very well it did, if* Strix *had been the Perſon to be preferr'd; ſince it would have proved an indelible Reflection upon us to ſee a* Scot *in ſo high a Station, when ſo many of our own Countrymen were infinitely better qualified, and more deſerving of Preferment.*

But why ſhould it be an indelible Reflection on *Engliſhmen* that a *Scot*, with more Merit and Virtue than any of his cotemporary Pleaders, ſhould be placed in a high Station? The *Union* gives him an equal Right with the *Engliſh* Profeſſors of the Law, and Fame has ſet him far before all

thoſe

thoſe of his Standing.—But your Averſion to this Gentleman, probably is owing to your Prejudice to his Nation in general, of whom, you ſay, *They are reſtleſs and over-bearing in their Temper, and inſufferably inſolent in their Manners in every Station; but much more ſo, where they are inveſted with Power and Authority. There the* Scot *is ever predominant.*

Here, you ſeem to have out-done your own Out-doings. Here you exceed in your Invectives againſt *Scotchmen*; and here your Prejudice to *Scots* in general, and your particular Envy and Malice to the noble *Advocate* mentioned before, have provoked you to fling the Bar at random, and far beyond the Ken of all Probability.—*Scotchmen inſolent in every Station!* Except a few in the Army and very few in the Navy, they have had ſcarce an Opportunity of diſplaying their native Inſolence amongſt *Engliſhmen*; and in the Capacity of Soldiers and Sailors, they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves for Politeneſs and Lenity to all in Subjection to them. And this I am authoriſed to ſay, not only from my own Knowledge but the Teſtimony of *Engliſhmen* that have ſerved under *Scots* both in the Land and Sea Service. Have you ever heard any Complaints on this Head of the late Duke of *Argyle*, of the Earl of *Stair*, the late Lord *Cathcart*, General *Sinclair*, or any other *Scot* honoured with a Command either by Sea or Land?

All the Nations of *Europe* might retort upon you, as to the unreſembling Portrait you here draw of a People, whom you do not thoroughly know, or if you do, whom you daub and disfigure to gratify your native Prejudice to all that are not born in *England*, or a *perſonal Reſentment* to ſome particular *Scot*, that might have heretofore beſtowed ſome *manual Chaſtiſement* upon thee for Inſolences dropt from your Tongue or Pen.

I remember a late *Engliſh* Lawyer, puſhed up by Fortune to the Summit of his Profeſſion, who could never bear an *Iriſhman*, becauſe, in his younger Days, he had been uſed as he *deſerved*, by a Gentleman of *Ireland*, whom he had aſperſed to a Lady they both courted.

'Tis peculiarly remarkable that the Prejudice to the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* in *England*, is confined to the *Males* only; the *Engliſh Fair* being too diſcerning and generous to indulge a native, intereſted, unjuſt *Prejudice* to all who are not

not born among themſelves. But this is not the only Inſtance of the Superiority of the *Engliſh Fair* over *Engliſhmen*. The Firſt are as open, frank, generous, gay, vacant, ſprightly, polite, compaſſionate and humane, as the Latter are dark, ſullen, niggardly but to indulge their own Paſſions, dull, ſtupid, vain, prejudiced, cruel and mercileſs. Foreigners obſerve, and juſtly, that the Men and Women of *England* differ as much from each other, in Humour, Sentiment and Comportment, as any two Nations of *Europe*.

Nor ſhall my Verſe the brighter Sex defame,
For Engliſh *Beauty will preſerve her Name:*
Beyond Diſpute, agreeable and fair,
And modeſter than other Nations are:
For where the Vice prevails, the great Temptation
Is want of Money, more than Inclination.
In general, this only is allow'd,
They're ſomething noiſy, and a little proud.

Behold the Picture of *Engliſh* Males as drawn by the ſame maſterly Pencil.

Reſtraint from Ill, is Freedom to the Wiſe;
But Engliſhmen *do all Reſtraint deſpiſe.*
Slaves to the Liquor, Drudges to the Pots,
The Mob are Stateſmen, and their Stateſmen Sots.
Apt to revolt, and willing to rebel,
And never are contented when they're well.
Seldom contented, often in the wrong;
Hard to be pleas'd at all, and never long.
So dull, they never take the Pains to think,
And ſeldom are good-natur'd, but in Drink.

I have kept you Company thus far in a dirty Road into which you led me, much againſt my Inclination, being much more delighted in praiſing than ſatyrizing. But it is high Time that we part; you, if you have any Shame, to repent and atone publickly for your ſcandalous, General Libel, on a brave, faithful, ancient Nation, and your particular defamatory Attempt on the Character of a Gentleman, whoſe Virtue and Eloquence would do Honour to ancient *Greece* and *Rome*: And I, to take Pride to myſelf for holding up the Mirror to you, which I hope, will bring you to a Senſe of your Duty, as a Fellow-Subject, a Neighbour, and a Gentleman.

If I have not drawn your Countrymen, as amiable and comely as they fancy themſelves to be, are they not obliged to you, on one Hand, who forced the Pen into my Hand, and to *Truth*, on the other, which obliged me to render them *Juſtice?* Am not I warranted from the known Character of your Countrymen, and from your Writings particularly, who are but the Eccho of *Engliſhmen*, to produce them unſteady, prejudiced, ungrateful, vain, fordid, cruel, and immoral? Would not all the Connoiſſeurs, think me either an ignorant, or a cringing, fawning, flattering Painter, if I had drawn *Engliſhmen* leſs natural and deform'd? Should I not be deemed a Spaniel Cur, a Time-Server, an unnatural Member of a Society of as brave a People as the Sun ſhines on, if I did flatter a Nation that treat my Country and Countrymen arrogantly, inſultingly, ungratefully, and unjuſtly?

There are certain Bounds beyond which, Paſſiveneſs becomes a Fault inſtead of being a Virtue; and you have driven my Patience to that critical Point, by the Licentiouſneſs of your Pen; therefore ſuch Quarters as you gave you ſhould not murmur at receiving; and the rather, that you ſpoke the Language of Prejudice, Envy, and Malice, I ſpeak that of *Truth* only. And that the Public may be the better able to determine between us, I ſubjoin to this Epiſtle that motly Production of yours, which has obliged me to take up the Gauntlet you threw out to the whole *Scotch* Nation indiſcriminately.

If I mention ſometimes, the *Engliſh* generally in my Deſcriptions, it is with no Intention to depreciate ſuch of them as have the good Senſe to be *unprejudiced* in regard to their *Scotch* Fellow-Subjects. Theſe I revere and eſteem as much as I deteſt the narrow, grovelling, ſelfiſh Baſeneſs of thoſe who would treat us unjnſtly and inhumanly, for no Reaſon, but becauſe we are not born *Engliſhmen*. And it is a Satisfaction to me to think that the preſent Stateſmen at the Helm are as conſpicuous for *Impartiality* as for *Wiſdom* and *Integrity*, ſwerving in this Inſtance, from too many of their *Engliſh* Fellow-Subjects.

I conclude, by aſſuring you, that I envy not your Countrymen, their Appellation of *Engliſhmen*, believing myſelf far more honoured by that of a *Scot*. And let me add, that I would be a *Laplander*, with the Character of Steadineſs, Humanity,

Humanity, Loyalty and Sincerity, before I would be an *Engliſhman*, with that of Fickleneſs, Cruelty, Diſloyalty and Diſingenuity. I would be ſuch an abject S—e as *England* has reduced the *Iriſh* to be, and you ſeem inclined to reduce the *Scotch* to, before I would enjoy the *Liberty* which *Engliſhmen* boaſt of, to abuſe it as you and moſt of them do, with regard to *God* and *Man*. I am, *&c.*

Old England: or, The Broadbottom Journal. By Argus Centoculi, Inſpector-General of Great-Britain.

To the AUTHOR, &c.

SIR,

Had Cain *been* Scot, *God would have chang'd his Doom,*
Not force him wander, but confin'd him Home. CLEV.

I Perceive by the daily Papers, that we are to have a certain Number of additional Judges made, and that theſe are to make a Peregrination once a Year, into *Scotland*, to adminiſter Juſtice thro' that Nation; but in what Manner, and by what Law, is not yet expreſs'd or ſuggeſted: Yet, as they are to have the Honour to ſit in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, I preſume it is to be after the Common Law of *England*. If ſo, the *Scotch* Laws, which are form'd chiefly after the Manner of the ancient *Roman*, will be aboliſh'd of Courſe. Neither does it appear whether theſe Judges are to be *Engliſhmen* or *Scotchmen*: If the firſt, the *Scots* may have juſt Occaſion of Complaint; and if the latter, I doubt it would give very great Diſguſt to our Countrymen of the *South*. As for my own Part, I muſt own I ſhould be ſorry, to ſee a *Scotchman* upon an *Engliſh* Bench of Juſtice, for ſeveral Reaſons, which I hope may occur to the Wiſdom of the Great in Power, before ſuch Judges are appointed, as it may not be very proper or convenient for me to mention them: They are obvious to every Perſon capable of Reflection, and acquainted with the Nature and Diſpoſition of thoſe People, who are extremely national, proud and poor, reſtleſs and overbearing in their Temper, and unſufferably inſolent in their Manners, in every Station; but much more ſo where they are inveſted with Power and Authority. There the *Scot* is ever predominant.

They have pour'd upon us, like Swarms of Locuſts, into every Quarter and every Scene of Life. The Army abounds with them, in unequal Proportions to our own Countrymen; Divinity is not without them, as I am credibly inform'd a certain Dioceſe can ſtill atteſt, from the partial Choice of a late *Scotch* Prelate; and even the Law, which us'd to be pretty clear of them, begins to abound with their diſſonant Notes, and ragged *Q--l--y*. Phyſic has them plentifully likewiſe. And where there is any thing to be got, you may be ſure to find a Number of *Scotchmen* conven'd, like Hounds over a Carrion, or Flies in the Shambles.

We ought to keep in Remembrance their late odious Attempt to ſubvert our Laws, Conſtitution, and Government, for it was all their own, and ſprung from the innate Animoſity which they have always entertain'd and invidiouſly ſhewn, upon all Occaſions, againſt Us; as well in the brutal Ignorance of the barbarous *Highlander*, as in the politer Treachery of the falſe *Lowlander*, ever faithful Confederates and Allies to *France!* Their Hatred of us is implacable and implanted in their Nature, deſcended from Father to Son, and is not confin'd to any particular Sect or Religion, but is diffuſive and general. This, with their national Attachment to their own Race of Kings, will never be eradicated out of their Minds by mild and generous Uſage: For, tho' while that Race reign'd over them, they were never without Inſurrections and Rebellions, yet they have a natural Propenſion for them, for no other Reaſon than that they derive their Original from their *Scottiſh* Heights.

'Tis obſervable, that a *Scot* is a natural hereditary *Jacobite*, and incurable by Acts of *Lenity*, *Generoſity* and *friendly Dealing*; for tho' they will temporize with us for their own Gain and Benefit, yet they are ſure to lay hold of the firſt Opportnnity to diſtreſs us, and even cut our Throats. The late Rebellion (I can't call it unnatural, for Rebellion is natural to them) is as recent, and will continue an everlaſting Evidence of this.

Nor Gold, nor Acts of Grace, 'tis Steel alone can tame
The ſtubborn Scot; *a Prince that would reclaim*
Rebels by yielding, is like him, or worſe,
Who ſaddl'd his own Back to ſhame his Horſe.

The Fault being therefore in the Nature of the People, it

it is not hardly poſſible to make a thorough Cure. What then is to be done? for it would be a monſtrous Attempt to endeavour to extirpate ſo numerous a People: To tranſport them into our *Weſt-India* Colonies, will be rather a Reward than a Puniſhment to them, according to the Poet:

A Land, where one may pray with curſt Intent,
Oh, may they never ſuffer Baniſhment.

But ſuppoſing a Tranſportation practicable, how ſhall we replace them! a Colony of *Indians* would look upon the frozen Exchange as a great Hardſhip for their chearful Sun: And to rebuild the famous Boundary-Wall, ſo as to ſhut them among their Rocks and Hills, is, I doubt, in theſe Days altogether impracticable, as well as impolitic. But there is yet a Method every Bit as effectual, that may be reduc'd into Practice; and that is to build up and fortify our Minds againſt them; give them no Encouragement in in the ſeveral Profeſſions they are in, and ſo totally exclude them from ſharing in the Benefit of our Plenty, and deprive our own Country of their Bread. Then muſt they keep within their own barren Confines, improve their Hills, ſet up Manufactures, and ſo become capable of maintaining themſelves; or wander abroad in Search of Employments, which is all the ſame to us of the *South*, ſo that we but get rid of them and their pernicious Principles any Way.

——— *A Race!*
Able to bring the Gibbet in Diſgrace.

Let them have the Benefit of Traffic with us. Let all their Poſts of Preferment be fill'd up by their Natives, ſo they keep beyond the *Tweed:* For I ſee no Occaſion we have for them in the ſeveral Sciences, and gainful Profeſſions here. Is there a Merchant among them? I will deal with him for his own Country Commodity, his Herrings, his Plaids, and his Mannocks, and no further. If a Parſon? I want not his length of Prayer, nor his low familiar Cant, and Expoſtulations with the Almighty. Their Doctor's Phyſic is not grateful to me: Nor, above all Things, would take Law from their Lawyers. Their Regiments may for me, be all Natives to a Man; but then their Country ſhall maintain them: I ſee no Reaſon, why they ſhould bear Commiſſions in thoſe of our own Country, and ſo conſequently command them? An *Engliſhman* ought not to be put under the Dominion of a *Scot.*

——— *I would not quote,*
The Name of Scot, *without an Antidote.*

I remember an old Friend of mine uſed to tell me of a termagant *Scot*, as *Shakeſpear* phraſes it, that domineer'd at the Bar of one of our Courts of Juſtice, in the Reign of one of our Kings, who was *Second* of his Name: Probably *Charles* or *James* the Second, for it is natural to believe the *Plaid* might meet with Encouragement here in theſe Reigns. This *Scot* emerg'd from his native Wealds, rocky Caverns, and mountainous Heights pretty early in Life, to *fineer* over a *Scotch* Education, with a little *Engliſh* Erudition, and undoubtedly for Preferment too. He brought along with him the ſame Principles of Government and Loyalty, as his Country and Family were remarkable for, and what his Brother carry'd over to *Rome*, like Apples to *Alcinous*, or Coals to *Newcaſtle*. One would think ſuch an Opportunity might have had ſome gentle Influence on the rugged Nature of our *Emigrant*, his pauper Pride and native Inſolence; but it happen'd otherwiſe; for the *Scot* could not alter his Nature; and ſo, in the Midſt of all the Learning of our Courts, he continued ſtill a very *Scot*.

Full of the *Tatterdemallion* Honour of the Man of Quality, forſooth! of his own Country, he uſed to inſult the *Engliſh* Suiters in Harangues of Virulence and Abuſe. He had no Perſuaſion in his Manner, Sweetneſs in his Voice, nor Energy in his Expreſſion; no Variety of Turn in Tone and Cadence, adapted to the Purport of the Matter he treated, but was curſt with a loud, clamorous *Monotony*, and a diſagreeable Diſcordance in his Accents, as ſtruck ſo harſh upon the Ear; that he ſeem'd rather to ſcream than plead, and from thence was call'd Orator *Strix*, or the *Caledonian* Screecher. He was as indelicate in his Words, as his uncleanly Countryman *Sawney* in the Play. So that he deform'd the amiable Brow of Oratory and Beauty of Debate, with abuſive *Scotticiſms* and obſcene Language; inſomuch, that the faireſt Cauſe in his Hands, was ſure to carry out of it a Tincture of Foulneſs. He aſſum'd a bullying Audacity in his Manner, and ſeem'd, by a pertinacious Importunity, to overbear, rather than gain, the Bench. This Faculty however recommended him to the Notice of ſuch Sollicitors as dealt among the *Canaille*; which, being much the major Part of the Profeſſion, ſupply'd him with a Competence of Buſineſs, at the ſame Time as he treated theſe *Abjects* (and indeed very juſtly too) with Haughtineſs and Contempt; for theſe Fellows, like Spaniels, or termagant Wives overpower'd, fawn under Correction.

Tho' Learning was very cheap in his Country, as it might be had for a Groat a Quarter, ſo that a Lad only went two or three Miles of a Morning to fetch it, and 'tis very common to ſee there a Boy of *Quality* lug along his Books to School, and a Scrip of Oatmeal for his Dinner, with a Pair of Brogues on his Feet, Poſteriors expos'd, and nothing upon his Legs: I ſay, notwithſtanding theſe *Advantages*, he did not appear to be a Man of more Learning than one of our L———ds or Country Squires, nor to underſtand the Elegance of fine Writing; and yet had the good Fortune to make an Alliance by Marriage with an *Engliſh* Family of Diſtinction, which procured him not only a much higher Preferment in his own Way than he deſerv'd, or in the utmoſt Stretch of his Hopes could expect, but had like to have puſh'd him up to the Summit of the Bench; if a Perſon of real Merit, and a Genius in Buſineſs, had not ſtept in between and cry'd out *Firſt Oars.* But an Accident ſuſpended the Occaſion, and very well it did, if *Strix* had been the Perſon to be preferr'd; ſince it would have prov'd an indelible Reflection upon us to ſee a *Scot* in ſo high a Station, when ſo many of our own Countrymen were infinitely better qualified, and more deſerving of Preference. But 'tis remarkable our Orator *Strix* ever ſince ſunk gradually in his Reputation and Buſineſs, and became deſpis'd in his Turn, by the very Practicers he had male-treated before.

I'll bait my Scot, *and yet not cheat your Eyes,*
A Scot *within a Beaſt is no Diſguiſe.*

'Tis ſaid (continued my old Friend) *Strix*'s Ill-Manners drew upon him ſo ſevere a Scourge, from a Hand he little expected, that he had Reaſon to repent of hiring out his Lungs to Calumny and Abuſe. Tho' he us'd to boaſt he was above the Reach of Repriſals, either from Words retorted upon him in *his* Court, (which I apprehended was that of the *Quarter-Seſſions*) or from a bitter Pen from without: As he pretended to be in both Caſes, equally under the Protection of his Profeſſion; and that conſequently an Author muſt inevitably incur the Penalty of a Contempt of *his* Seſſions-Bench, however cautiouſly, or perhaps innocently, he may have wrote or ſkreen'd himſelf under an unintelligible Word, obſcur'd by a Daſh from the initial Letter to the laſt: Since he would fain inſinuate his *Seſſions-Court*, being in ſuch a Caſe, ſubject to no Jury, had a Right to put ſuch Conſtructions upon Words as it ſhould think

think fit, and would therefore puniſh accordingly. This was a new Doctrine, and a moſt dangerous one too, if it had prevailed this Side the *Tweed*; which, at the ſame Time that it ſhew'd the Value we ought to put upon Juries, and the *Habeas Corpus* Act, prov'd plainly what was to be expected from this *Scot*, if he ſhould ever aſcend the Bench; or from any other Perſon, who ſhould indiſcreetly proclaim himſelf ſo dangerous an Enemy to *Britiſh* Liberty. Attend to this, Oh! ye Southern *Britons*, and mark him for ever.

A Gentleman denying our *Scot*'s Poſition, inſiſted that in ſuch a Caſe, our Situation here muſt be as bad as that under a *Spaniſh* Inquiſition; and that his *Bench* could do more than our King, or the Law itſelf; which he apprehended could not take away a Man's Liberty, 'till he had been tried by a Jury; except in the Caſe of ſome notorious Miſbehaviour in open Court: And that as Man is a fallible Creature, THE CHAIRMAN upon the Bench is conſequently no more; and therefore might miſtake the Purport of Words ſo ſupplied, and wreſt them to the Loſs of a Man's Liberty, than which, nothing is more valuable to an *Engliſhman*. He urg'd alſo, that no Word ought to be explain'd into one certain Meaning to a Man's Diſadvantage, if it could bear a different Explanation as well in another Way. As for Inſtance: Suppoſe I have a Law-Suit with a Lady about her *Cart*, and that I fight the *Weapons of Law* thro' in my Defence, on which ſhe writes to me thus, *Sir, I will complain to the Court of you:* I underwrite, and return her Letter with theſe Words, *Damn your C—t, Madam.* Would it not be very hard that this imperfect Word ſhould be conſtrued *Court*, ſince it can be as well made out by more Monoſyllables than one, every Bit as pertinent to the Matter, but particularly by the Word *Cart?* ——— Orator *Strix* became for once confounded, and utterly incapable of defending his Poſition; ſo that 'tis plain, that nothing can be more abſurd and arbitrary in a CHAIRMAN, than to aſſume a Right to annex Meanings and Conſtructions to imperfect Words, to the depriving any *Engliſh* Subject of his Liberty.

SIR,

Your humble Servant,

ARETINE.

THE

ROSE.

OF all the Vermin which infeſt the Eaſe of a free People, none are at once ſo dangerous or ſo loathſome as thoſe which proceed from the Corruption of one of the beſt Things in the World; I mean the Liberty of the Preſs.——A Government tender of the Laws often finds Difficulty in bruſhing thoſe Inſects from its Borders, without endangering the delicate Texture of Liberty.——Hence it is, that in *England* the Danger of offending by the Preſs is leſs, and therefore the Evil more frequent, than in other Countries. But it may, ſome time or other, though, I hope, not in our Days, become a Queſtion, whether the Patience of a Government, however tender it may be of the Laws, may not be provoked to *ſtretch Power* as far as the Sons of Sedition *overſtrain Liberty*.

When, therefore, I take up the Pen for the Chaſtity, I take it up for the Freedom, of the Preſs. All right Purpoſes of Writing may be anſwered by the one; no wicked Ends of Sedition ought to be encouraged by the other.

But the Pair of Writers, I attack, have taken Care to remove by their Openneſs all the Difficulties of a Government, cautious of pruning the Licentiouſneſs leſt they wound the Liberty of the Preſs. One of thoſe Writers ſteps Abroad under the Names of *Aretine* in Old *England*, or the *Broad Bottom* Journal, and the other in a Pamphlet which he rightly entitles, *The* THISTLE: This noble Pair of Papers, have endeavoured to crucify the publick Peace between two Thieves. The Shafts of thoſe Authors fly different Ways, but are drawn from the ſame Quiver. Like *Sampſon*'s Foxes, their Faces are turned towards oppoſite Quarters, but the Brands of Sedition meet in their Tails. Driven by other Men's Guilt, impelled by their own

own Hunger, they run to ſpread the Flames of Faction over the Face of the Land.

In former Days, when private Characters were thought to be touched, even by the beſt Writers of the Age, the Author's Perſon was diſliked, while his Wit was admired. But each of theſe two Drawcanſir Politicians aim the Weapon at a whole People, and ſeem with *Caligula* to wiſh that they had but one Neck, that it might be cut off by one Stroke. Their Dulneſs is indeed an Antidote to their Malice with all who can think or judge, but it is with Concern I obſerve, that the Dregs of Civil Commotion, like thoſe of a Fever, are ever the moſt dangerous. The *Engliſh* ſtill retain that Placability in their Diſpoſitions for which their *Saxon* Forefathers were noted. Their Reſentments are apt to leſſen with their Dangers; their Compaſſion to return with their Safety: This Softneſs makes their Minds the more ſuſceptible of Impreſſions; credulous Pity yields to the Tale of feigned Diſtreſs; and Judgment ſinks under imaginary Woes. In this critical Diſpoſition are the Minds of the Public at this very Juncture; and though the Execution of the two Libels I have mentioned is contemptibly poor, yet muſt it be owned that their Deſign is ingeniouſly wicked.

The Reader, therefore, is not to expect that in what I am now to offer to the World, I ſhall have principally in View either the Perſons or Performances of my two Antagoniſts. It is the *Intention*, with which their Libels are thrown out, that I am to combat; I am to obviate the Prejudices which Credulity has ſwallowed; I am to pull off the Maſk which Sedition wears.

That the two Libels are wrote with the ſame View, if not by the ſame Perſon, is, I think, beyond all manner of Doubt. Few Gentlemen are ſo unacquainted with the Hiſtory, as not to know, that the ſowing popular Diviſions betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*, has been ever a capital and ſucceſsful Maxim in the *French* Government. By this Art, ſhe often prevented, and ſometimes recovered from, Conqueſt. The Diſſimilarity of Manners, Languages, Laws, and at laſt of Religion, betwixt the two People, afforded the *French* but too good Reaſon to hope for Succeſs; and I muſt be free enough to own, that I wiſh the Union had carried the Coalition of *Inclinations* as far as

it

it did that of the Intereſts. In this reſpect it left the Door open to *France* to repractiſe her Arts.

I will not go ſo far as to affirm that *Cleveland*, Mr. *Aretine*'s Bullyback, was employed by Cardinal *Richlieu* in the unhappy Times of King *Charles*. He was a frantic Wretch, but had more Wit than *Defoe*; and perhaps his Lines, which for that Time are of tolerable Verſification, might have ſome Influence with the lower Sort both of Cavaliers and Roundheads. But it is certain he was deſpiſed by Men in higher Ranks; for when an officious *Scotch* Officer had taken him Priſoner, and brought him before General *Leſly*, the General ordered the Officer about his Buſineſs, and to ſuffer the Fellow to go and ſell his Ballads. *Defoe*, a pilloryed Wretch, who had ſerved and betrayed all Parties, when driven from *England*, took refuge about the Year 1706 in *Scotland*, where he was maintained by *French* Pay and *French* Partiſans: His Pen was then employed to raiſe a Diſlike in the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*, with a View of obſtructing the Union. In this Deſign he exhauſted all his little Stock of Wit, and his large Fund of Scurrility, which has, we ſee, ſo embalmed his Memory, that his *True-born Engliſhman*, the moſt ſtupid Libel in Verſe that ever appeared, is again brought to light, adapted to the ſame infamous Purpoſes for which he meant it; and by the only Writer of the Age, who perhaps is his equal in Genius, as he is his Succeſſor in Office.

Thoſe Particulars are the more materiel, as the Writers in Queſtion have done no more than given us a dull Commentary upon dull Verſes; and as they ſhew of how old a Date in *England*, the Practice, is of Libelling a whole People.

Having gone thus far, I ſhall now endeavour to open the Eyes of the Publick, by ſhewing both Performances to have the ſame Tendency; and proving, that neither *France*, nor the Diſaffected amongſt ourſelves, can play their Cards better than to ſtir up, or to revive, national Animoſities; and that, in effect, it is all they have at this Criſis to depend upon. If I make this out, the Thing will ſpeak itſelf; it is ſufficient if I ſtrip the Back of Sedition, let others apply the Laſh of Chaſtiſement. The Horror of ſo foul a Proſpect as I ſhall lay open, will ſtrike every virtuous *Briton* too deeply, for me to fear that there will be much Occaſion to repeat, or to repay theſe

Inſults to Decency and Common Senſe which appear in Performances, which not only are unſpirited by Wit, but unſupported by Facts.

For the Eaſe of my Reader, I ſhall bound the Review I have to make within ſo near a Diſtance, as the breaking out of the lately ſuppreſſed Rebellion. There is nothing more certain, than the Hopes which encouraged the young Pretender, were founded upon the animated Oppoſition which two Miniſters had a few Years before met with, and to which they rather *yielded* than *ſubmitted*. A Perſon bred up in arbitrary Countries, and with arbitrary Notions, cannot conceive the Difference betwixt *Oppoſition* and *Rebellion*, nor betwixt Diſſatisfaction and Diſaffection. He looks upon every Paper publiſhed againſt the Miniſter as a Trumpet of Defiance to the Sovereign. So ſtrongly impreſſed was the young Pretender and his Adherents with thoſe Notions, that there was not a Paper of Note in the Oppoſition, from the Time he came to *France*, to the Time of his Invaſion, which was not, by his Order, tranſlated and ſent to the Court of *France*. Nay, when he came to *Edinburgh*, his firſt Care was there to reprint (which is in ſeveral People's Hands) a whole Collection, in one Pamphlet, of the *beſt Things* that have been ſaid againſt the late Miniſters. This had ſuch an Effect upon the barbarous ignorant Chieftains, who joined his Standard, that they thought they had no more to do but to enter the Seat of Britiſh Power, and that the Dagon of Liberty would fall at their Preſence.

Happily, they were diſappointed; not only the *Engliſh*, almoſt to a Man, but all the *Scots* who had ever reliſhed the Sweets of poliſhed Life under a free Government, diſclaimed or diſdained the Attempt; but the Rebels could not believe them in earneſt till they made the Experiment; they marched into *England*; into its very Heart; but to their Amazement found the Government ſo firm, that, here, ſcarcely a Breath of Sedition ſtirred.

While Matters were at this Criſis, it is notorious to every Man who can remember what paſſed thirteen or fourteen Months ago, that the Whiſpers which are now ſpoken out in Print, began to run through all the Coffee-Houſes in *London*. The Agents of Treaſon bounded their Ball from oppoſite Corners. While playing the ſame Game they mingled with the leaſt diſcerning and moſt

fiery

fiery of either Nation. With the *Engliſh*, the Cry was, *That all the* Scots *were Rebels in their Hearts; that they were an ungrateful and perverſe Generation, and that the Nation never could be happy while ſo many* Scots *were employed.* This Cry was taken up by indiſcreet Zeal, and purſued to the greateſt Length; nor do we know whom it might not have hunted down, had it received the ſmalleſt Encouragement from the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, or by Men either of Senſe, Probity, or Property in the Kingdom.

The Game of thoſe who herded with the *Scots*, was to ply them with eternal Alarms, That the Articles of the Union were broken; that there was a certain Deſign to render *Scotland* a Province of *England*; to deprive her of all her Trade; to turn out every *Scotchman* who held a Place of Truſt in the Church, State, or Army: At laſt, they became bold enough to give out that there was a Deſign on foot even to Maſſacre the *Scots*; and nothing is more certain than an Aſſociation was propoſed to be entered into by all the *Scots*, who were in or about *London*, and who were computed to be about 30,000 capable of bearing Arms. But the ſanguine Hopes of the Faction were diſappointed in this dangerous Meaſure: The People were too cold, too cautious, and too contented, to venture upon it; and, excepting from a very few weak Heads, it received no Sanction, but from the avowed Enemies of the Government.

In all thoſe Practices, it was not enough that the one Nation ſhould be exaſperated; the Work was but half done, if they did not meet one another half way; the Buſineſs was to abuſe the *Scotch* as well as the *Engliſh*, and the Cry being propagated, the Ends of the Faction were either way anſwered. It was expected that mutual Diſtruſt would proceed to mutual Hatred, and then to mutual Diſſention.

The Succeſs of the Battle of *Culloden*; the Severities, which are on ſuch Occaſions partly neceſſary and due to Juſtice in the General, partly inflicted by Wantonneſs in the Soldiers, provoked by the Hardſhips he had ſuffered, and fluſhed with the Succeſs which his Courage had obtained, gave a freſh Handle to the general Cry, *that the* Scots *were to be extirpated.* I would not load the Meaſure of the Unfortunate, but it is well known how the ſame Art had been practiſed during the Riſe, and through all the Progreſs of the Rebellion. It is no Secret how the Affections

which

which almoſt every Man has for his native Place, were worked upon by certain Chiefs, who found it neceſſary to animate their Reluctance by quickening their Spirits, with that darling Motive of preſerving themſelves to their Country, and their Country to themſelves.

As the above Deduction conſiſts of well known Facts, the Application of them to our preſent Situation will unravel this whole Miſtery of dark Iniquity.

The Government by a preſerving Caution, made no Diſtinction of Rewards between the North and South *Briton* who had done his Duty. The Diſaffected did not ſee one *Scotchman* loſe his Place in the Government, or degraded from his Rank in the Army: They ſaw the Hands of the loyal *Scots*, by the Wiſdom of his Royal Highneſs the DUKE, ſtrengthened with new Acceſſions of Power. They beheld Protection go hand in hand with Allegiance. —They ſaw, that excepting one noble Perſon bred up in the Boſom of the *Romiſh* Church, with *French* Education, not one Man of great Property, not one profeſſed Friend to the Government had appeared in Arms under the Pretender's Banner. They perceived that excepting in thoſe Wilds which were the immediate Object of Chaſtiſement, all was ſafe, eaſy and quiet: That Agriculture had reſumed its Labours, and that Commerce had returned to its Channels. They could not give an Inſtance, I will not ſay of *Severity* but of *Diſtruſt*, ſhewn by the Government to any one *Scotchman*, who had remained, even, unactive during the Rebellion. This Conduct diſappointed and exaſperated the Faction. The Lyes of the Day were now exhauſted; the important Whiſper had loſt its Force, and the confident Calumny, its Credit. Then, what is to be done to reſtore the deſponding Faction? What Cordial can revive the drooping Cauſe?——They fly to the Preſs. The ſtale Story is repeated; the *Scots* are groſly abuſed; no Exception of Perſon; no Decency for Characters, is obſerved. But the Clumſineſs of this Abuſe muſt have loſt all its Efficacy, unleſs it had been thought to come from ſome eminent Hand, who was employed by the Government *to pickeer* (that I may uſe the *Thiſtle*'s Words) *as a forlorn Hope with a People doomed to be ſuddenly attacked by a much more formidable Force.* Though this is a Suggeſtion that ſuppoſes the Government not only void of Honeſty, but of common Senſe, yet without ſuch a Suggeſtion, the Scheme muſt have

have fallen to the Ground. Unleſs they had gone ſo far as to affirm, or, at leaſt, to inſinuate, that the Government was ſo infatuated as to divulge to the World, what in Prudence, if it had any Deſign upon the Liberties of the *Scots*, it ought to conceal, the Calumny could have no Effect. Therefore the Pertneſs of the one Performance kept up with the frantick Scurrility of the other. They agree, only, in Dulneſs and Deſign. A Peer, a Prelate, or a Judge, muſt be underſtood as the Author of the Paper. Great Care muſt be taken leſt, inſtead of a Peer, ſome ſtarving Proſtitute of the Pen; inſtead of a Prelate, an abandoned *Iriſh* Prieſt; inſtead of a Judge, ſome dirty diſcarded Limb of the Law, ſhould be diſcovered to be the Writer. But the World has the Word of an inveterate Opponent that the Thing comes from very high Hands; and after the Teſtimony of an Enemy, who can diſbelieve it? After ſo many fair Hits as Mr. *Thiſtle* has given Mr. *Aretine*, who can imagine that they are not in earneſt? Who can ſuſpect that they have copied their Practice from Men of a much honeſter Calling than themſelves, I mean the common Pickpockets, who by a ſham Quarrel make a Buſtle in the Streets, and get a Crowd about them while their Confederates are buſy in examining the Purſes of the gazing unſuſpecting Vulgar.

If one was obliged to ſupport Allegations, which, I think, ſpeak for themſelves, by any Particulars in the Pair of Performances now under our Conſideration, nothing can be more eaſy than to prove the Confederacy; how the one lays himſelf open to the other's Blows, and how Mr. *Thiſtle*'s raving Zeal improves the Advantages, which Mr. *Aretine*'s unguarded Scurrility gives him.

Mr. *Aretine* bellows out "That the *Scots* are extremely "national, proud and poor, reſtleſs and overbearing in "their Temper, and unſufferably inſolent in their Man-"ners in every Station. That their Hatred of the *Engliſh* "is implacable, and implanted in their Nature, deſcend-"ing from Father to Son, and is not confined to any par-"ticular Sect or Religion, but is diffuſive and general." But he takes Care in the very next Sentence to tell the World, that they have a *natural Attachment to their own Race of Kings*. The Meaning and Deſign of theſe Words want no Commentary. *Hoc Ithacus Velit.* Were the moſt ingenious Jeſuit to hammer for Thoughts to ſerve the Religion

ligion and Politics he eſpouſes, he might indeed put them in cleaner Language, but he could chuſe none more proper at this Juncture, for exaſperating the doubtful Part of that People into Diſloyalty, and awakening in the others, all the Principles which have ſo lately made this Land of Peace and Liberty, a Theatre of Blood and Commotion.

But, leſt the Hint ſhould be loſt with vulgar Readers, Mr. *Thiſtle* explains and enforces it from another Quarter. He roundly falls foul upon the *Britiſh* Parliaments. He does not meddle with this nor that Party, with one Miniſter or another, he boldly raiſes the Banner, and ſounds the Trumpet of Treaſon. He tells the World, "that "Parliaments have made ſo free with the Eſſentials of the "Conſtitution, that they are now forced to botch, to "weaken, and to impair the Body Politic." He deſires the Public "to caſt its Reflection back to the laſt Century, "and to compare the then preſent State of our Conſtitu- "tion, to ſee what we have gained by the Omnipotence "of Parliaments from that Period to the preſent: Can we "ſay, continues he, that our Conſtitution, after all the "Quackery of our State-Phyſicians, is wholeſomer, "ſounder, and better faſhioned and adapted to the Main- "tenance of the Public Safety and Happineſs, than it was "ſome Time in the laſt Age?

My Intention in theſe Pages is not to endeavour to reclaim the inveterate hereditary Jacobite from his Opinion, but to regard the Unwary and Well-meaning from Impoſture. I ſpeak to the latter, and ask him, whether, if he did not ſee and read this worſe than ſeditious Rhapſody in Print, he could believe that, at a Time, when the bleeding Wounds of his Country are juſt cloſing, when the Scene of Civil Commotion is juſt ended, ſo audacious a Libel againſt the Revolution, and all the Eſtabliſhment ſince, durſt have appeared in public? Can it be ſaid, that the Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act curbs the Liberty of the Preſs, when it is plain that that Suſpenſion cannot reſtrain its Licentiouſneſs? In the Name of Goodneſs, what has this treaſonable Defiance to do with the Cauſe for which Mr. *Thiſtle* pretends to take up his Pen? If it has nothing to do with that Cauſe, why was it thrown out? His own audacious Libel anſwers his own Queſtions; for in thoſe Times he ſo furiouſly recommends, who durſt have ventured, as he does now, upon the Strength of the Liberty we conſti-

tutionally

tutionally enjoy, to have carried Controverſy into Invectives, and Invectives into Treaſon?

Had Mr. *Thiſtle* been, in earneſt, the Antagoniſt of Mr. *Aretine*, would he not have taken Notice of that indiſcriminate Definition the latter gives of the *Scots*; of their Hatred to the *Engliſh*, of their Attachment to their own Race of Kings? But Mr. *Thiſtle* is ſo far from oppoſing this infamous Aſſertion, that he admits and confirms it in almoſt every Sentence o. his dull Performance. He ſays, in effect, that all the *Scots*, but a few Villains, who have been corrupted by *Engliſh* Gold, had thoſe Averſions and Attachments. "The *Scotch*, ſays he, were tempted, "yielded, or you would have had no Union; and con- "ſequently no Rebellion; and let me add, if they had "not been apt Scholars, and learned the *Engliſh* Arts, ſe- "cret Arts of gently touching, and being touched in the "Palm of the Hand, their late Rebellion would have "worn another Sort of Aſpect, and perhaps, the Name of "Rebels would have been *retorted* back on others."

After this Quotation, can it remain the leaſt Doubt with any Man of common Senſe, that Mr. *Thiſtle* labours in the ſame Bottom with Mr. *Aretine*; that though their Faces are oppoſite to one another, yet the one puſhes and the other draws the Oar, but guides the Veſſel of Sedition againſt the Stream of Virtue and Liberty.

Mr. *Aretine* ſays, "that a *Scot* is a natural hereditary "Jacobite." How does his friendly Opponent anſwer this Accuſation? Why truly by ſaying, almoſt in Terms, that the *Scots*, who are not Rebels, are Raſcals. He will not ſuffer the Battle of *Culloden* to be gained by the Valour and Conduct of his Royal Highneſs the Duke, without the Aſſiſtance of Corruption amongſt the Rebels themſelves. Though this ridiculous Inſinuation ſcarcely deſerves Mention, far leſs Regard; yet it ſerves to ſhew the Virulence of thoſe who ſuggeſt, and the Weakneſs of thoſe who believe ſo infamous a Falſhood. But it has been both ſuggeſted and believed, and the Weight of Suſpicion falls chiefly upon one honourable Perſon, who had a diſtinguiſhed Rank in the Rebel Army. Yet the Rebels themſelves, even thoſe who have moſt Reaſon to curſe the Event of that glorious Action, allow, that there was not a Man on their Side, who that Day expoſed his Perſon more gallantly; who was in a more iminent Danger of being

cut

cut to Pieces; or did more for reſtoring the Credit of their baffled Arms, than the very Perſon thus ſuſpected. As this is a Fact eaſily to be proved from the Mouth of any Rebel Priſoner, who was preſent in that Action, we muſt conclude that the whole of the Suggeſtion is a Contrivance to tarniſh the Luſtre of the *Britiſh* Arms, and the Glory of his Royal Highneſs.

But what will not Credulity ſwallow? A diſappointed, defeated Party will have recourſe to the Devil himſelf, rather than acknowledge their Defeat to be owing to the Courage and Skill of their Enemies. I remember to have read, in a Hiſtory of *Oliver Cromwell*, that when he defeated King *Charles* at *Worceſter*, his Army was compoſed not only of the fineſt *Veteran* Troops in *Europe*, but was three times ſuperior in Number to that of the King, who commanded only about twelve thouſand raw undiſciplined Men. But the ſame Writer, rather than allow that the Battle was won by Addreſs and Diſcipline on *Oliver*'s Side, makes him, in a little Wood near *Worceſter*, ſtrike a Compact for Victory with the Devil. But this, ridiculous as it ſeems, is not more abſurd than the Impudence of our modern Jacobites, and the Enemies of his Royal Highneſs, who aſcribe to the Force of mean Corruption, what was owing to the Superiority of military Virtue.

Mr. *Aretine* ſays, that the *Scots* are irreclaimable by Acts of Lenity, "and Generoſity, and friendly dealing:" His amicable Antagoniſt opens upon this Scent, he diſplays his Throat againſt the Affair of *Glenco*, in which it does not appear that one *Engliſh* Miniſter or Officer was concerned; and he rails at the Conſequences of the Battle of *Culloden*, as if our Army had been ſent not to ſubdue, but to treat with Rebels who ſtill kept their Arms in their Hands, and diſdained Submiſſion, even after Proffers of Protection.

Mr. *Thiſtle* next calls in thoſe truſty Auxiliaries, the *Iriſh* Papiſts, to the Aſſiſtance of the *Scotch* Jacobites. He endeavours to unite them in the ſame Cauſe, and without the leaſt Attempt to prove what Connection their Caſe has with that of his Subject, he luggs them into the common Quarrel.

There is not, perhaps, any one Practice in Life, that betrays a greater want of Senſe, Education, or good Manners, than that of caſting Reflections out againſt a whole Nation for the Sake of a Few. There is not a Man who

walks the Streets of *London*, who does not perceive how much more clean and expert every Oyſterwoman, and every Porter is at the Exerciſe, than our Pair of Authors. I am ſo far from vindicating the Oppreſſions the *Iriſh* may labour under, that I am ſorry for the Neceſſity there may be, why ſome of the Papiſts in that Country have put it out of an *Engliſh* Proteſtant Government's Power to ſuffer them to enjoy the full Benefit of that Conſtitutional Indulgence which diſtinguiſhes a free People: But what has this to do in the Caſe betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*; united by a ſolemn Act, as one People; and by the very firſt Article of that Act, even the Diſtinction of Names taken away.

Dare, therefore, an *Engliſhman* ſay, that the *Scots* are Rebels, becauſe that Part of them who live the Life of the *Engliſh* three hundred Years back, by the Misfortune of that Conſtitution, which the Government of *Great Britain*, out of Reverence to publick Faith, has not ventured to alter, are ſtill under ſome Powers of Vaſſalage? Dares the *Scotchman* to call the *Engliſhman* the Oppreſſor; becauſe, Induſtry and Commerce has ſubſtituted Money in the Place of Labour and Dependance, and have ſupported Agriculture by Arts and Manufactures? Let the warmeſt *Engliſhman* deny that the *Scots* as a Nation, have ever been as early and as active in the Cauſe of common Liberty, that they have maintained it with equal Zeal, and in as bloody Fields as the *Engliſh* themſelves? Let the moſt prejudiced *Scot* ſhew any one Infringement made in the Articles of the Union, any Diſtinction that has been made in the common Intereſts of the United People, or the Shadow of a Loſs, which the Northern Part of the Iſland has ſuffered by its Incorporation. The Cool, the Diſpaſſionate, and the Candid can point out many Advantages accruing to the *Scots*, and many Inconveniencies from which the *Engliſh* are free by that Act; but the moſt partial, the moſt zealous Jacobite cannot inſtance one Prejudice reſulting from it to either Nation.

If, before that, they had Jarrs and Diſſentions, that is no more than ever attends a Vicinity of Countries, poſſeſſed by different People. The Affair of *Darien*, which Mr. *Thiſtle* has impertinently brought in, was owing to the over-haſtineſs of the *Scots*, who, by poſſeſſing that Iſthmus, might not only have injured *Engliſh* Commerce, but endangered the common Liberties of *Europe*, by a Breach

with *Spain*, which no Juſtice warranted, and no Provocation demanded.

On the other hand, two Rebellions have broken out in *Scotland* within little more than theſe thirty Years: But their Complexions were ſo different, that they fully confute all Reflections upon the preſent Body of the *Scotch* Nation. That in 1715, happened in ſeven or eight Years after the Union, before the Prejudices of the *Scots* for reſigning the Name of their Independency, and the Forms of their Parliaments, were worn out. Hence it happened, that the Lowlander was as deeply engaged in that Rebellion as the Highlander. Men of large Properties, great Eſtates and numerous Followings embraced the abjured Cauſe, and the ſcarcely-ſettled State of the *Britiſh* Government flattered them with a Proſpect of Succeſs. But even in that Rebellion, five Parts in ſix of that People remained uncorrupted in their Principles, and unſhaken in their Allegiance.

The Rebellion, which broke out in 1745, preſented a very different Appearance. The Diſtance of thirty Years had mellowed down the Acrimony of the more poliſhed Part of *North Britain*. The People there had found the Benefit, they had taſted the Sweets of the Union. Money loſt, as Induſtry acquired, Value. The Farmer, by the Influx of *Engliſh* Improvements, learned how to pay his Rent, not in Labour, but in Coin. The Landlord perceived that cultivated Grounds and elegant Life, brought more true Comforts, and gave him greater Weight in the World than ever his uſeleſs Vaſſalages, or barbarous Dependancies had done. Hence it was, that, amongſt all the Lowland *Families* of Quality or Conſideration, which the Lenity or Indulgence of the Government had ſpared at that Time, none, or next to none, among their Deſcendants, joined in the laſt Rebellion. Nay, we ſaw moſt of them venturing their Lives and Fortunes in the Cauſe of Proteſtant Liberty, while every one of the Government's old Friends remained in their Principles, the ſame in 1745 as they had been in 1715; and even in the Highlands, the Springs from whence Diſloyalty had drawn its greateſt Support in 1715, were opened for the Government in 1745. The Families there of the greateſt Figure and Property, who had been formerly diſaffected, now diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the Side of Freedom; and the Rebels were driven to other Reſources. The Gold of *France* enabled them to enliſt

enliſt many petty Chiefs, whoſe Poverty did not ſuffer them to ſtir in the Rebellion of 1715, which was more ſtarved by the *French* than the late Inſurrection was, and which depended for Support chiefly on the Properties and Purſes of Natives. Hence it was, that in the laſt Rebellion, the Name of Clans and Chieftains were heard of that had ſcarcely ever before reached the Ear of a civilized *Briton*. The Highlands, like *Hungary*, but in a worſe Cauſe, poured out her *Croats*, *Pandours* and *Sclavonians*; Swarms of Nations, till then unknown, overſpread the Face of the Land; while Modern, like Antient, *Rome*, employed Vaſſals and Slaves to be the Inſtructors and Refiners of a free and a happy People.

I neither can nor will diſſemble, that our Conſtitution muſt ever be ſubject to thoſe Convulſions, while that Part of the Nation lives under the very Yoke which preſſed the Necks of our *Engliſh* Forefathers, who ſo lately, and ſo bravely ſhook it off; I mean foedal Tenures. Where, Labour has no Price, Induſtry no Reward: Where, the Superior knows no Reſtraint but his Weakneſs, and the Tenant no Property but his Miſery: Where, the Soil never felt the Hand of ſmiling Culture, and the Sun never ſaw the Face of honeſt Independency: Is it any Wonder, that the Arts and Gold of *France*, ſhould quickly mould ſuch a Race to her own Purpoſes? Or, are we to be ſurprized, if ſhe renews the ſame Game, as long as the ſame Circumſtances of Miſery ſubſiſt, and as often as the like Exigencies of Policy happen?

But it may be ſaid, that many of the Low Country Inhabitants joined in the Rebellion. I own that ſome did, but where is the People that are without debauched and deſperate Perſons amongſt them? The broken Fortunes of ſome, and the perverted Principles of others, brought a few of the more civilized *Scots* to the Pretender's Standard; but they were ſo few, that they ſcarcely deſerve the Name of an Appearance. If a *Catiline* could find Confederates in *Rome*, can a Pretender be without Followers in *Britain*? The Seats of Luxury ever border upon the Manſions of Want. The Poor and the Profligate will ever join the Diſturbers of a Country's Peace, whether the Invaſion came from *France* or *Turkey*; and Enthuſiaſm will burn or bleed for her Principles, whether ſhe draws them from *Rome* or from *Geneva*.

But, after all, upon what Grounds is this Diſtinction founded, that the Faction for which thoſe two Wretches labour, have ſo induſtriouſly endeavoured to eſtabliſh, I mean the Difference betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh* as two People? Is there any juſtifying Mr. *Aretine*, in wrapping up all the *Scots* without Diſtinction, in his Sheet of low Ribaldry and coarſe Defamation? No, the Thing itſelf is too extravagant to gain *Credit* with any but the lower Sort. This wretched Performance muſt have been loſt, even upon them, had he not overloaded it with Scurrility; and it muſt have been doomed to the ſame Neglect with all his other Productions in that Journal, which he, in vain, endeavours to reanimate. He falls foul upon a Gentleman of the Law with the ſame Intention, that the Fellow who was a-dry after being drunk, called out Fire, that he might awaken the People of the Inn where he lay; and meer Curioſity to know what can be ſaid upon ſo unexceptionable a Subject, as is the learned Gentleman, whom he has choſen to abuſe, has procured him abundance of Readers.

On the other Hand, if Mr. *Thiſtle* meant no more than to take up the Pen in Behalf of the *Scots*, who were honoured with the other's Abuſe, what Occaſion had he for falling as frantically upon the *Engliſh*, as his Antagoniſt had upon the *Scots?* Could two ſuch low Wretches flatter themſelves that they could eſtabliſh a National Deſtruction by their ſham Quarrel? Or can any Gentleman be weak enough to embrace in his Cloſet, the Sentiments of a Fellow, whom he would diſdain to converſe with in a Coffee-Houſe?

It is in the Power of every Writer to dip his Pen in Venom, if he cannot in Wit. The Saw, as well as the Razor, may be annointed with Poiſon. Mr. *Thiſtle* raves againſt the *Engliſh*, as *Aretine* does againſt the *Scots*. But who are the *Engliſh*, and who the *Scots?* The Poſterity of thoſe who ſold, bought, and beheaded their Sovereign, are obliged indeed to *mourn*, but not to *anſwer*, for that Tragedy. Is no Diſtinction to be made betwixt the Body, and the Government of a People? Admitting *Glenco* to be a cruel Maſſacre, ſuppoſing the Treaty of *Worms* to be a bad Treaty, what have the People of *England* done to be ſaddled with the Blame of either? Mr. *Thiſtle* ſays farther, that an Attempt was made by the *Engliſh* to diſenfranchiſe the City of *Edinburgh*; but as he has not told us, that that

Attempt

Attempt was carried into Execution, does he not reflect a tacit Praiſe upon thoſe whom he abuſes, ſince it is certain, that if they had had the Inclination, they were not without the Power? But I believe, the moſt National *Scot* will not venture to blame the Reſult of the *British* Parliament's ſolemn Deliberations upon that Occaſion.

Mr. *Thiſtle* has talked of *English* Plotters in the Time of *Charles* the Second, but how does that affect the *English* Nation? Were I to write or talk of his own Countrymen, would he take it well if I ſhould lump them by the Name of *Irish* Papiſts; or rather, how would he rave, if I ſhould diſtinguiſh them as Proteſtants only?

Tired as I am with this illiberal Stuff, I cannot part with it before I put the Reader once more in Mind, that as neither Mr. *Aretine*, nor his Antagoniſt, could be in earneſt as to their Subject, I hope, I have but done them and the World common Juſtice, in expoſing the mean, yet dangerous Tendency of their Deſign. Could the Enemies of our preſent happy Conſtitution once eſtabliſh a National Diſtinction betwixt the two People, we might indeed retain our Liberty, but we could not our Peace. Inſidious *France* would ſupply the Brands of Civil Diſſention, ſhe would ſpread its Blaze, ſhe would feed its Fury, ſhe would watch the fatal Criſis, when *Britons*, weakened by fighting for Freedom or for Fetters might become, at once, the Prey and Scorn of her inſolent Ambition.

But I ſhall now turn my Diſcourſe from the Public, and addreſs myſelf to the Pair of *Fratres Fraterrimi*, this Duumvirate of Importance; and give my Reaſons why I have uſed them with ſo little Ceremony. Where there is the Appearance of a good Intention, enforced by Argument, Reaſoning, Learning, or Wit in a public Writing, the Obſcurity, the Meanneſs, or even the Venality of the concealed Author, can never make that Writing have the leſs Weight or the leſs Eſteem in the World: It will always claim the Regard of Mankind, let it come from clean or dirty Hands: The impartial Public will conſider the Performance only, and not the Perſon. That little Inſtrument the Quill, like the Art of *Archemedes*, has often, even in this Nation, ſhook the Baſis of mighty Deſigns; it has unmaſked the wicked Miniſter; it has diſcovered the pernicious Plot; it has overthrown the deſtructive Syſtem.

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But Gentlemen, (for a Gentleman is, you know, a good travelling Name) where in the Name of Dullneſs is the Scope, the Senſe, the Meaning, the Merit, of your Writings? That both of you are mean mercenary Wretches, writing for Bread, paid by Sale of your Performances, encouraged by a deſperate Faction, and yourſelves drawing the Pen for meagre Subſiſtence, is evident not only from the Matter, but from the very Manner of your Writings. As to the Matter, is there in it a Shadow of Senſe; is there an Attempt to reaſon? Both of you fight under the ſtale, the trite, the common-place Wit, of two execrable Rhymers; who, like you, recommended themſelves, by venturing their Necks that they might be read. The one was a deſpicable Poet, the other a pillory'd Pamphleteer; and the only Symptom of Modeſty you diſcover, is, that neither of you venture to quote your Authority; but have been humble enough to attempt to leave the Public in a Belief that yourſelves are the Authors of the matchleſs Verſe, as well as of the inimitable Proſe.

You have not therefore, Gentlemen, a Right to deſerve you ſhould be treated upon any other Footing than that of Incendiaries. Your Writings are not a Degree above the Stile of their Letters; your Intention is more villainous than theirs. They, like you, when brought into Judgement, employ the Time of their Betters in reading Performances, and pronouncing their Dooms. They menace, ſometimes, what they do not mean to execute; you mean always what you cannot effect. They threaten a Family, you, *a Nation*: Want is all the Mitigation you can urge as an Excuſe, Impotence is the only Plea you have for Pardon; and Dulneſs your only Refuge for Safety.

But, Gentlemen Writers, if you were really ſo diſtreſſed, that you were obliged to fly to a Printer or a Party for Subſiſtence, why did you not with gretter Safety to your own Perſons, with more Honeſty towards the World, like your Brother Incendiaries, deſire the Public to leave a little Money at any certain Place to relieve a Couple of diſtreſſed Authors, who muſt otherwiſe be obliged to attempt to throw the Nation again into Flames, Blood, and Confuſion. As you did not that, your Brethren behave more like Gentlemen than you did. They never employ the Torch till their Pen is unſucceſsful; but you carry both in one; you apply both at the ſame Time; tho' the Train fails, yet the

the Letter takes; and by the Curioſity of the Public, who buys Papers, you indemnify yourſelves for it ſafely.

That you have Abettors, as well as Readers, is but too viſible. But the Spirit from which you are abetted, is deteſtable enough to make even Barbarity bluſh. There is not a Nation ſo unpoliſhed, there is not a Set of Principles ſo inhuman, as to exclude from the Breaſt Sentiments of private Affection and Compaſſion. But nothing is more plain from the daily Diſcourſes and Writings of the Party, that the Enthuſiaſm of the ſtaunch *Jacobite* is as unſubmitting to Principles of Humanity as of Government, while their unhappy Brethren are now lying under the uplifted Sword of Juſtice; while the Sovereign ſuſpends the Stroke which their Country has aimed; while Clemency averts the Calamity which Judgment has decreed; while, by an unexampled Lenity, after ſuppreſſing daring and unprovoked Rebellion, the higheſt Power has checked its Thunder, and ſeems inclined to lay aſide the Bolts of Vengeance againſt a proſtrate Foe; I ſay, even in thoſe Circumſtances, the Faction who have yet had the Art to ſcreen themſelves from public Juſtice, dares, by their inſolent Behaviour, to tempt the Patience of Government. They dare to provoke its Reſentment upon their unhappy Friends; and they are wicked enough publicly to declare that they do not value what becomes of the miſerable Sufferers; nay, to go ſo far as to wiſh Juſtice to have its Courſe, that the Frequency of Executions may render the Government unpopular. Such are the Principles, and ſuch is the Practice of the true *Jacobite*, when not himſelf in immediate Danger; and from what School they are borrowed let the Miſeries propagated amongſt Mankind, by Prieſts and Jeſuits, declare.

I now make bold to turn me from the Bar towards the Bench. But with a trembling Hand, with conſcious Inability, I guide the Pen which is to addreſs the Public of *England*. The Man who demands an Audience at that awful Tribunal, however he may borrow his Powers from Nature, ſhould receive his Inſtructions from the Heart. From that Sovereign within himſelf he ought to write, and to the like within others he ought to appeal. I repeat it, that I think the hereditary, the principled *Jacobite* is not to be either reclaimed or reaſoned with; but it is not from thoſe that the Government can be now endangered. It is from thoſe who take up, or lay aſide, their Principles

as

as Calumny ſuggeſts, as Ignorance conceives, or as Conveniency preſcribes. Inſenſible of the Gradation from Diſſatisfaction to Diaffection; unknowing where Liberty ends, and Licentiouſneſs commences; many have ruſhed from *diſliking Meaſures*, into *hating Perſons*; and ſome from the Principles of Reſiſtance, which Nature and Liberty warrant, have been hurried into the Practice of Rebellion, which Reaſon and Religion diſclaim. But let ſuch aſk of their Hearts, whether the Government, under the Auguſt Houſe that now ſways the *British* Sceptre, has ventured upon thoſe fundamental Violations of the Conſtitution, which make Profeſſions loſe their Faith, and Treaſon its Name?

I forbear to go into the trite Practice of numberleſs Exemplifications in the Negative of this Queſtion. I am far from being one of thoſe who deny that the Jealouſy of the People has been ſometimes warrantably, virtuouſly, nay critically alarmed, even under the *Proteſtant* Succeſſion. But I deny that that Alarm was ever attended with the real Danger that warrants the Reſiſtance of Power to prevent the Diſſolution of Government. The Aim of the laſt Rebellion tended to the fundamental Ruin of every Guard to private Property, of every Fence to public Liberty, that the Labour of Ages, the Blood of *Britons*, and the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors had won, had preſerved, and had eſtabliſhed. It tended to diſſolve that even Tenor of Government, that happy Temper of Conſtitution, which bleſſes *Engliſhmen* beyond all that the Profuſion of Nature, the Richneſs of Soil, or the Serenity of Climate, can beſtow.

The Bleſſings of Liberty are ſuch, that a generous Mind alone can either confer or reliſh them: But it is with *Engliſh* Liberties as with *Engliſh* Fruits; tho' ſome were *indigenous*, and coeval with the Soil itſelf, yet it was Care, it was Culture, it was the happy Hand of Induſtry, it was the deep Engraftment of Judgment, which nurſed the tender Bud, which ſpread the glorious Bloom, end matured the generous Produce. And ſhall the Sons ſurfeit upon what ſupported their Forefathers? Shall the Enjoyment of this beſt of Bleſſings be more fatal to us, than its Acquiſition was laborious to them? Yet this muſt be the Caſe, where Reflection is loſt in Happineſs, and the Senſe of Gratitude vaniſhed by the Removal of Danger.

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The Charm of a virtuous Enjoyment flows equally from communicating as receiving Happineſs. The great Deliverers of Mankind, the ſucceſsful Improvers of Nature, borrow their Fame from the Happineſs they give to others; and I muſt be free enough to own, that the preſent Legiſlature of *Great Britain* have but too many and too melancholy Opportunities of acquiring Glory by the ſame Means.

I am in hopes that I tranſgreſs upon no Duty, that I violate no Deference which is owing to any higher Order, when I open what I have already touched, and explain what Diſaffections endeavours to miſrepreſent, and Ignorance is ready to miſapprehend; it is immediately connected with my preſent Purpoſe, as it is under the uninfluenced Deliberations of my Betters.

I have already expreſſed my Wiſhes, that the Union had been more compleat than it now is; and have hinted that its Defects are owing to the Diſſimilarity between the Civil Government, or rather the civil Syſtems of the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*. That the latter received the Feodal Law more early than the former, is beyond all Queſtion; it is equally certain, that they received it with greater Imperfections than the Syſtem introduced with the *Conqueſt*, or rather the *Acqueſt* of *England* by the *Norman*. But the older it was, it had taken the deeper Root below; and its deſtructive Qualities above, like a baleful Shade, blaſted or burnt up all that grew beneath. Hence Rebellion and Rapine, with all the Evils of Subjection, Oppreſſion and Murder, with all the Train of Tyranny, were familiar to a People, whoſe Boaſt was the Greatneſs of their reſpective Leaders, and whoſe Miſery lay in the Strength of regulated Government.

To remedy thoſe Inconveniencies, the Crown purſued a Method which ſerved to increaſe, nay, to perpetuate them. It delegated its own Powers of Juriſdiction, not as in *England*, to Barons of great Property and Power, and who were under no Temptation of abuſing it in ſmall Matters, from whence the general Grievances of Inferiors ariſe, but to petty Proprietors, whoſe Eſtates and Riches became at laſt to lie not in their Land-Eſtates, but in the Quantity of Juriſdictions they enjoyed, and in the Number of Vaſſals and poor People, whom they had the Power of oppreſſing, of fleecing, and of commanding.

The Practice of granting away thoſe Powers of Juriſdiction, was at firſt confined to thoſe Places of the Country which were leaſt acceſſible to the Execution of Juſtice from the King's Courts; but in Time it became common to all Parts of the Country, even the moſt civilized. Thus the Landholders in *Scotland*, getting into their Hands a Power equal to regal, it was no Wonder, if at the Time the Union was concluded, they made it a Point that they ſhould enjoy thoſe unconſtitutional Powers after the Time of that Acts commencing; and accordingly they obtained the following Article, which is the Twentieth of that Treaty, viz.

That all Heretable Offices, Superiorities, Heretable Juriſdictions for Life, be referred to the Owners thereof, as Rights of Property, in the ſame Manner as they are now enjoyed by the Laws of Scotland, *notwithſtanding this Treaty.*

Thus the Act of Union, to which the *Scots* owe ſo many intrinſic Advantages, continued the Yoke upon the Necks of the common People there, under which the Anceſtors of the *Engliſh* Commons had groaned, during the oppreſſive Exerciſe of the Feodal Law in *England*. Their Liberties, their Properties, nay, their Lives, were at the Mercy of the Proud, the Poor, and the Partial amongſt themſelves. The ſupreme Court of Juſtice in that Country was cramped, nay ſometimes inſulted by petty Officers, or Heretable Proprietors of Juriſdiction, who were at Liberty to repledge a Felon, or other Malefactor, committed for a Crime done within that Juriſdiction, out of the Hands of the Crown Officers of the Juſtice, and upon giving a ſlight Security, only for Form's Sake, that Judgment ſhould be done, to proceed to acquit, to condemn, and to exempt, which they might do betwixt Sun and Sun after paſſing Judgment.

Some flagrant Abuſes which had been made of thoſe Powers, at laſt, called loudly out for the Attention, not only of the ſupreme Courts of Juſtice, but of the *Britiſh* Parliament. The former accordingly revived certain dormant Exerciſes of Juriſdiction over thoſe petty Tyrants, had the latter paſſed an Act which fixed a Number of Days to be allowed to all Criminals condemned to die benorth of *Tweed*, which Time they were to live betwixt the Time of paſſing and executing their Sentences. But thoſe Regulations did not take from the Heretable Juriſdictions their Powers over Life and Death, tho' they in a great Meaſure prevented the tyrannical Exerciſe of the ſame. No Regulation all this while was introduced into their other and more dangerous Powers.

For Matters of Life and Death, of Diſmembrings, Baniſhment, and other capital Puniſhments (which all Caſes that affect the Character as well as the Life of a Party, are ſuppoſed by the Civil Law to be) are but rare; and excepting where the Party is rich, there is but ſmall Temptation for a Judge to commit a flagrant Act of Cruelty or Injuſtice, But the Danger of thoſe inferior Juriſdictions lay in the Command they had over Matters of Property within a certain Sum. As thoſe Diſputes daily and hourly happen, and as the Judges were paid for the Decrees they paſſed, out of the Fines and Mulcts they raiſed, or from a certain Proportion of Poundage out of the Debt recovered, who does not ſee the prodigious Influence which ſuch Powers muſt give them in a narrow Country, and the Temptation they were under of perverting Juſtice.

I ſhall forbear to treat upon this Subject in any other Light, than as it affects the perſonal and civil Liberties of a great Number

ber of *Britons*, born to the Rights of Nature, and Fellow-Subjects under a Conſtitution more tender of thoſe Rights than is any other Form of Government under the Sun. There is not, in all the Defects of Civil Government, a more groſs Solœciſm, than what is called *Imperium in Imperio*. An equal Government is ſimple, and ought to be uniform. Every Wheel that counteracts its general Conſtruction, and the Principles upon which it is form'd, ceates ſometimes Deſtruction, and always Diſorder. This was an Inconveniency not enough attended to by the noble Patriot who formed and concluded the Treaty of Union.

The Truth is, that, at the Time when that Treaty was made, the State of the National Concern, and the Pragmatics for Succeſſion to the Crown, which the two People had eſtabliſhed, rendered the Concluſion of that Treaty in a Manner neceſſary, not only for eſtabliſhing Peace betwixt the Nations, but for carrying the Succeſſion of the Proteſtant Line to the Crown, into Effect. But, as Things then ſtood, this Neceſſity lay more ſtrongly upon the *Engliſh* than it did upon the *Scots*; and I am under ſome Conviction, that ſeveral Inconveniencies were overlooked, that the general Syſtem might be kept intire, and becauſe they might be obviated, by ſubſequent Acts of the *Britiſh* Legiſlature. This, I think, is evident from ſeveral of the Articles, which in their original Formation were incomplete, and which have been ſince amended by Act of the *Britiſh* Parliament, to whoſe Alterations they were ſubjected by the Treaty of Union itſelf.

That the 20th Article calls aloud for ſuch Amendment, is plain upon the Face of Things. It plainly eſtabliſhes a Government within a Government, and leaves thouſands of free-born Subjects under Preſſures which ſhould be unknown to a free People. We might even here venture a Conjecture, which I hope will reflect no Diſhonour or Imputation upon the Memory of thoſe great Men, who were upon that Occaſion appointed Commiſſioners on the Part of the *Engliſh*.

Can we then ſuppoſe that, admitting thoſe Commiſſioners to have been thoroughly inſtructed in the Nature, the Influence, and the Extent of the Juriſdictions reſerved by the 20th Article of the Union, that they would have agreed to it? Would they, at a Time when the Conſtitution of *England* was ſo modelled, refined from the Dregs of its Feodal Tenures, that the greateſt Subject in it had not ſuch a Power over his Inferiors, as by his perſonal Intereſt to bring five Men into the Field? Would they, I ſay, at ſuch a Time have agreed to a Clauſe which left it in the Power of hundreds of Subjects in *Scotland*, the higheſt not worth fifty Pounds a Year in Property, to lead their Hundreds into the Field, into the Teeth of Danger, and to the Defiance of Civil Government?

Can it be doubted, if, in this Reſpect, the People of *Scotland* had been put upon the ſame Footing with thoſe in *England*, that

their Leaders would have been able to have given the Diſturbance they have given to the Peace of the Public? Does not all the World know, that a perpetual Judge of Property, which the Enjoyer of an Heretable Juriſdiction is, eſpecially where no Jury paſſes between the Judge and the Party, (as in that Country none does in Civil Caſes) that that Judge becomes the Proprietor, and if he will, the Tyrant of the People under him, if they either live far removed from the Fountain of ſupreme Juſtice, or (as is the Caſe with the poorer Sort of the *Scots*) if they have not Money to carry an Appeal to the higher Courts, in thoſe Caſes where an Appeal can be admitted? The Duration of Power in Magiſtrates was an Evil of which the *Romans* were of all other Evils the moſt jealous; and ſhall a *Britiſh* Legiſlature, who ought to think above whatever a *Roman* Senate thought, heſitate to aboliſh a Power in ſome of the loweſt of their Subjects, which the *Romans* diſdained in all the higheſt of theirs?

Where it is either tacitly or expreſsly underſtood, that the Judge is to give a Sanctuary for the Guilt that loads the Criminal; where Diſobedience to the Laws of the Land is the only Means of being exempted from Injuſtice in Civil, and Cruelty in Criminal Caſes, what Peace can a legal Government hope for? Yet this notoriouſly has been the Caſe in theſe Juriſdictions, where the Judges being themſelves Men of neither Virtue nor Property, have made uſe of the Power which their Juriſdidiction gave them, in fixing their Dependants into the Practices of Rapine and Rebellion. Such Men, though they cannot ſerve Government, may ſpread Confuſion; and tho', in all Reſpects, deſpicable, when conſidered as Subjects, are dangerous when drawn in to be Traytors.

In the Lowland Parts of *Scotland* there is, it is true, more ready Acceſs to the chief Sources of Juſtice, than there is in Parts more remote from the Seats of Civil Governments, and the Heretable Proprietors of Juriſdictions have not of late been known to commit any flagrant Abuſe of their Powers. But this is not owing to any legal Reſtraints upon thoſe Juriſdictions which ſubſiſt in the Lowlands and not in the Highlands. It is owing to the Cauſes already hinted at. The Property which the inferior Ranks there have acquired by Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures and Induſtry, eſpecially ſince the Union, have put them more upon an Equality with their Superiors; and not only that Property but their Situation opens their Avenues of Juſtice to their Complaints and Appeals. Beſides this, their Superiors themſelves, by their Intercourſe with *England*, receive more juſt Notions of Men and Things than they perhaps would have acquired in the more remote Places of the Nation, where their Dependencies ſupply Property; where MAN is as it were the ſtaple Commodity of the Country, and the People are void of every Sentiment that diſtinguiſhed human, from brute Nature, or Reaſon from Inſtinct.

I am,

I am, at the ſame Time, far from denying that many, nay moſt of the great Proprietors of the Highlands, are well affected to the preſent Government, and have given recent Proofs of their Loyalty. But this is a Merit *perſonal* to themſelves: The Exerciſe of their Power is regulated by that of their Virtue, and the Fruits of the Loyalty they have received, are repayed by the Benefits they enjoy. They cannot however tranſmit their Virtues with their Lands; they cannot entail their Loyalty with their Eſtates. The Means, and conſequently the Temptation of ruſhing into dangerous Rebellion, remain ſtill the ſame; and not only paſt, but preſent, Experience proves, how entirely the Sentiments and Conduct of the lower Sort are directed by thoſe of the higher.

The Government of *Great Britain*, in all its conſtituent Parts, ought to be perpetual; its Peace ought to depend not upon Accidents but Principles in themſelves; eternal, and in their Conſequences ſalutary. *Eſto perpetua* (as was of late nobly obſerved by a great Authority) was the beſt Wiſh which Father *Paul* could expreſs for his favourate State of *Venice*. The Government of *England* has that to boaſt of above all Governments upon Earth, that it is compoſed of ſuch a happy Mixture of Powers and Properties, that nothing but what is next to the entire Extinction of all Sentiments of public Virtue can pervert its Operations from the Good of Mankind. It is not the Vice or Vices of its Head or Miniſters that can aboliſh the eternal Principles upon which it is formed; it is not partial or temporal Abuſes of Power that can prevent its ſwift Return to its firſt Principles; and the Liberties of the People thereby acquiring greater Strength, Dignity, and Security than before. Shall therefore the Imputation remain upon this Government, that thoſe who live under its Allegiance are not ſubject to its Power, nor directed by its Laws? Can the Inhabitants of our *Goſhen* ſuffer their Fellow Subjects to continue under worſe than *Egyptian* Darkneſs, and be ſcourged by ſo many *Pharaohs* who know not *Joſeph?*

Having ſaid, I hope, enough in general to prove that thoſe, in effect independent, Powers of Heretable Juriſdictions are reproachful to the Liberty, and dangerous to the Peace of *Britain*; I ſhall now proceed to conſider the Objections that have or may be urged, why the Legiſlature ought not to repeal them, or to make any Alteration in the 20th Article of the Treaty of Union.

The firſt, and, I think, moſt important Objection, is drawn from the Authority of that Treaty, the foundation of which reſts upon the Faith of Mankind, and its Top touches even the Settlement of the Crown of *Britain*. From this Conſideration it ought to be ſacred in the Eyes of every virtuous, dutiful Subject, and without ſelf-evident Neceſſity, admit of no Alteration, even in thoſe Caſes which it expreſſes to be alterable by a *Britiſh* Parliament.

Parliament. As no ſuch Expreſſion is inſerted in the Article now under our Conſideration, it has been urged, that the ſaid Article is not cogniſcible, far leſs alterable by Parliament.

I ſhall not take up my Reader's Time with examining into the general Terms of this Propoſition, or whether any Act or Conſtitution is expected from the Cognizance of that abſolute Power which muſt exiſt in every Government. But I ſhall take the Matter up upon the Face of the Article itſelf, which reſerves all the *Juriſdictions and Offices in Queſtion to the Owners thereof, as Rights of Property, in the ſame Manner as they were ejnoyed by the Law of* Scotland *at the Time of the Union.*

But it never can with the leaſt Shadow of Truth or Reaſon, be pretended, that thoſe Matters were enjoyed ſo as that they were not alterable, or repealable by the King and Parliament of *Scotland*; or in other Words, by the Law of *Scotland* before the Union. If therefore, they are now enjoyed as they were by the Laws of *Scotland* before the Union, they are evidently enjoyed upon the Preſumption that they are alterable or repealable by the King and Parliament of *Scotland* now reſt, and are by that Treaty inveſted.

The *Britiſh* Legiſlature has already ſhewed itſelf of that Opinion, by paſſing thoſe Acts I have already mentioned, by which Alterations were made, particularly with regard to the Days allowed to a Malefactor, betwixt the Time of his Sentence and that of Execution. From this it is evident, the Legiſlature conceived, that it had a Power of making Alterations in the Powers of thoſe Juriſdictions, without infringing the Articles of the Union; and conſequently that they did no more than what a King and Parliament of *Scotland*, before that Union, might have done.

The next Objection againſt what is propoſed is, that thoſe Juriſdictions, being declared by the Act of Union to be Matters of Property, it would be the higheſt Injuſtice in the Legiſlature to attempt to take them from the Proprietors, who are ſuppoſed to have paid for them an adequate Value, either in their own Perſons, or by the Services of their Predeceſſors to the Crown.

I am entirely ſenſible of the moral Inability, which a Legiſlature is under, not to commit any Act of Injuſtice towards private Property; and how very tenderly that String, eſpecially under the Guaranty of ſo ſolemn a Treaty as is that of the Union ought to be touched. But we are, at the ſame time, to reflect that there is not a Practice more early in the *Britiſh* Conſtitution; there is not a Principle better grounded in the general Syſtem of Equity, than that; though the Legiſlature cannot without ſome Offence committed by a Perſon or his Authors in a Property, take from him that Property, yet the Law may, *pro Bono Publico*, change the Species of that Property.

Thus

Thus in building Bridges, making Roads, Incloſures, and Public Works, which add to the Conveniency, the Gracefulneſs, or the Safety of Society, the Laws every day oblige Perſons to accept of an Equivalent for their Property. If this is done where the Poſſeſſion of that Property can be of no real Detriment to Society, farther than the obſtructing a particular Work; how ſtrongly does it imply, that it ought to take place in Matters of Property, where the poſſeſſing it reflects Diſhonour upon the human Species, and threatens Danger to the *Britiſh* Conſtitution?

That the Property of Juriſdictions is commutable by the Legiſlature is ſtrongly admitted by the Bench, to which, by a higher Authority, the Matter we now treat of was referred. For though that honourable and learned Body have ſtrongly implied their Inability to enter upon the Province aſſigned them; yet they have in very expreſs Terms admitted, that the *Britiſh* Legiſlature might take from the Proprietors thoſe Juriſdictions *upon giving them an Equivalent*. They have farther ſuggeſted ſeveral reaſonable Expedients for remidying the Inconveniences which ſubſiſt, or may happen from the Enjoyment or Exerciſe of thoſe Powers, as now exiſting; and they thereby allow, that though an Alteration is made in thoſe Matters by the *Britiſh* Legiſlature, yet that they would ſtand upon the ſame Footing as they were before the Union, viz. alterable by the King and Parliament.

I ſhall not take upon me to enter more minutely upon the Diſcuſſion of this great Point, which is now under the higheſt Deliberation: What I have ſaid will, I hope, ſufficiently anſwer the Purpoſes I have propoſed.

Firſt, By ſhewing the Expediency and Neceſſity of the Meaſure itſelf; which would have been right if neither the Rebellion of 1745, nor that of 1715 had broken out.

Secondly, By anſwering the Objections, which the Diſaffected and the Intereſted are ſo induſtriouſly propagating at this very time, as if a Meaſure were attempted that breaks into the Faith of Nations, by violating a Stipulation of the Union.

Thirdly, By laying open the true Sources of Diſaffection in that unhappy Part of the Iſland, and thereby removing from the Inhabitants in general, thoſe Imputations which crafty Treachery ſuggeſts, or credulous Zeal ſwallows.

There is not perhaps in Human Nature a Quality ſo amiable, nor in all the Current of Hiſtory, Examples ſo great, as the Self-denial of Patriots, who have parted with the Poſſeſſion of Power, which, if falling into wicked Hands, may have proved detrimental to their Country. A Man of Virtue may anſwer for himſelf, he cannot for his Succeſſors, or his Poſterity. He will therefore give the generous Precedent, and wiſely conclude, that the Intereſt and Safety of himſelf, and every Individual in Society, is beſt conſulted by providing for the Good of the Whole.

But

But to bring theſe Pages at laſt to a Concluſion: If under his preſent Majeſty, the Vitals of our Conſtitution are ſtill ſound; if, were the Houſe of *Hanover* now to reſign the Sceptre, it could make the ſame noble Appeal before God and Man, that *Samuel* made, *Whoſe Ox have I taken, or whoſe Aſs have I taken? Or whom have I defrauded, or whom have I oppreſſed?* If the worſt of his Majeſty's Enemies at home, or abroad, have never yet attempted to fix upon his Government any one Act, by which the People of England have Reaſon to call out with the People of *Iſrael*, *We will not have this Man to reign over us*; how can a *Proteſtant Briton* join in the Clamour of Diſaffection?

We have lived to that Criſis in which the Writings of all virtuous Oppoſitions, and the Predictions of all worthy Patriots, have ever marked as the *Æra* of *Britiſh* Happineſs. The Miniſters who have the Honour now to ſerve his Majeſty, are ſuch as no dark Cabal of perſonal Favour, no low Intrigues of dirty Intereſt, have raiſed; they are ſuch as the Confidence of our Allies abroad, and the Voice of the People at home have pointed out to be truſted. The Meaſures purſued, are thoſe which the eternal Maxims of a *Britiſh* Government, and the Experience of paſt Ages, have recommended. That temporary, that partial Inconveniencies may ariſe under this, as have under all former Adminiſtrations, is poſſible: But are we, for that, to tamper with that general Syſtem of Government? Are we to move the Corner Stones of that fair, that flouriſhing Fabrick of Liberty, which makes *Britain* a Queen amongſt Nations, which ſtamps Men with Dignity, which extends his Career of Glory beyond that of Life, and rewards the Toils of one by the Happineſs of Millions.

Millions muſt have felt the dreadful Shock, when the Liberties of *England* were threatened to be laid in the Duſt by the late Rebellion; Millions muſt feel it, ſhould the like Attempt be renewed. It is a virtuous Unanimity without departing however from that public Jealouſy, which is connected with the Spirit of Liberty, that alone can prevent a Return of the mighty Calamity. When this Unanimity is effected, when our deluded Fellow-Subjects in *Scotland* are, by the Lenity, the Cares of Government brought to a *better* BEING; when the Diſtribution of civil Juſtice is as *equal*, as we hope the Conſtitution of our Country will be *perpetual*, then let the *Vipers of Liberty* lick the *File*; let them with *vain*, though *venomous* Efforts, ſpill their own Blood, in endeavouring to weaken that impregnable Tower of Defence, the preſent Eſtabliſhment, which is built upon the Rock of Liberty, againſt which, may the Gates of *Rome*, the Attempts of dark Treaſon, nor the Arms of open Rebellion, never prevail.

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FINIS.